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Everyman, I will go with thee, and be thy guide,
In thy most need to go by thy side.

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BIOGRAPHY

# MARGARET, DUCHESS OF NEWCASTLE: LIFE OF THE DUKE MEMOIRS OF HER OWN LIFE *and* CERTAIN SOCIABLE LETTERS

MARGARET CAVENDISH, Duchess of Newcastle, was born about 1624, the daughter of Sir Thomas Lucas of Colchester. Maid of honour to Queen Henrietta Maria, 1643. Married the Duke of Newcastle in 1645. Died in 1674.

# THE LIFE OF THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE

MARGARET, DUCHESS OF NEWCASTLE

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# INTRODUCTION

It is Elia who ought to say grace for "Margaret Newcastle," as he called her, since to him she owes her wider fame. She was in his regard the thrice noble, the princely, the "original-brained"; something far other than the "Mad Duchess" of the Court of Charles II., and the extravagant dame in a *just-au-corps* of Pepys. Elia's praise of her occurs in three of his essays, and first, in "The Two Races of Men," where he speaks of her letters. He has been alluding to Coleridge, alias Comberbatch, who is the type of the one race, the men who borrow, "matchless in his depredations" at that. "To lose a volume to C.," says Lamb, "carries some sense and meaning in it. You are sure that he will make one hearty meal on your viands, if he can give no account of the platter after it. But what moved thee, wayward, spiteful K.[1] to be so importunate to carry off with thee, in spite of tears and adjurations to thee to forbear, the letters of that princely woman, the thrice noble Margaret Newcastle?—knowing at the time, and knowing that I knew also, thou most assuredly would'st never turn over one leaf of the illustrious folio—what but the mere spirit of contradiction, and childish love of getting the better of thy friend?—Then worst cut of all! to transport it with thee to the Gallican land:

> 'Unworthy land to harbour such a sweetness,
> A virtue in which all ennobling thoughts dwelt,
> Pure thoughts, kind thoughts, high thoughts, her sex's wonder!'

—hadst thou not thy play-books, and books of jests and fancies, about thee, to keep thee merry, even as thou keepest all companies with thy quips and mirthful tales?

[1] James Kenny the playwright.

—Child of the Green-room, it was unkindly done of thee."

And in the essay on Mackery End, writing of Bridget Elia, and speaking of her native disrelish for anything odd or out of the common, Lamb says: "I can pardon her blindness to the beautiful obliquities of the Religio Medici; but she must apologise to me for certain disrespectful insinuations, which she has been pleased to throw out latterly touching the intellectuals of a dear favourite of mine, of the last century but one,—the thrice noble, chaste and virtuous,—but again somewhat fantastical and original-brained, generous Margaret Newcastle."

Again in the *Last Essays of Elia* his "Detached Thoughts on Books and Reading" bring him back to the *Life*. Certain kinds of books, he says, the perpetually self-reproductive volumes—we see them individually perish with less regret, because we know the copies of them to be *eterne*. But where a book is at once both good and rare—where the individual is almost the species, and when *that* perishes:

> We know not where is that Promethean torch
> That can its light relumine—

Such a book, for instance, as the *Life of the Duke of Newcastle*, by his Duchess—no casket is rich enough, no casing sufficiently durable, to honour and keep safe such a jewel."

To turn from her book to the Duchess herself,—she was the youngest daughter of a gentleman of estate, Sir Thomas Lucas, who like her husband, though for a different cause, spent some years in exile. He was of a good Essex family—not quite as old in the roll as she maintained,—with a country seat at St. John's, near Colchester. The date of her birth may be fixed about 1625-6, to judge by sundry references in her own pages, which tend always to the congenial topic of her own feelings and affairs. For Margaret Newcastle is among the self-confessors of literature, and she is never so happy as when she is following her mood or writing about her

dealings with "the great merchant" as she calls the world. It is a delightful picture she gives in her *Memoirs* of the circle at St. John's, in which she grew up; suggesting one of those English groups painted by Lely's successors with daughters like the graces, blooming and summer-coloured, and a mother hardly less youthful in her middle-aged comeliness. But one of the daughters should in this case hold a book in her hand, and this is Margaret Lucas, the youngest.

"You desired me," she says in one place, "to send you the sixteen books I writ in my childhood; methinks they sound like the twelve labours of Hercules, only that there are Four Labours more . . . In my sixteen books is sense and no sense, knowledge and ignorance, mingled together, so that you will not know what to make of it. . . . Neither can you read them when you have them, unless you have the art or gift to read unknown letters, for the letters are not only unlegible, but each letter stands so cowardly from the other, as all the lines of your sight cannot draw or bring them into words. Moreover there are such huge blots as I may similize them to broad seas or vast mountains. . . . Also there are long hard scratches, which will be as bad for your eyes as long stony lanes would be to your feet. Let me tell you my sixteen books will be as tedious, troublesome, and dangerous to your understanding as the dry deep sandy and barren deserts of Arabia to travellers."

She was by her own account a moody self-absorbed child, who needed to live among those who knew her and would indulge her in her solitary moods, whims, and awkwardness. Her ambition led her time after time, it is true, out of herself, only to recoil when she found that the outer world was not so easy to manage as the inner. So on one occasion she tells us that young people should be sent out to know the world, that they may see men and manners, and observe creatures, customs, and ceremonies; and at another that young women should not be sent to boarding schools, because of the danger of their learning from one another "craft, dissembling,

fraud, spite, slander, and the like." To a boarding school she never went, but she did go to court as maid-of-honour to the Queen, Henrietta Maria. The court was then at Oxford; in 1643 to be exact. The episode, as she narrates it in the *Memoirs*, suggests again her home-bred temper and her unfitness for court life: "It is better to live with love than with state, . . . with wit than with company," runs one of her aphorisms. If we would add a further single portrait to the family group of Lady Lucas and her daughters, we might do so by recalling her lines in a *Lady Dressed by Youth*, which fits very well her fancy-sketch of herself:

> "As lace her bashful eyelids downward hung:
> A modest countenance o'er her face was flung:
> Blushes, as coral beads, she strung to wear
> About her neck, and pendants for each ear;
> . . . . . .
> Thus drest, to Fame's great court straightways she went
> To dance a brawl with Youth, Love, Mirth, Content.

After two years of intermitted Court life, she was fortunate enough to meet at Paris with the famous exile destined to be her husband—William Cavendish, who was at that time Marquis of Newcastle-on-Tyne. The Marquis was a man of fifty-three, a widower; one whose story made him a personage of extraordinary interest to such as herself. It appears that his curiosity, along with a certain chivalrous feeling for Margaret Lucas, had been aroused by her brother, "the Lord Lucas," as she terms him in the *Life*. Professor Firth cites Evelyn's *Diary* to show that they were married in Sir Richard Browne's Chapel at Paris.

A good deal has to be added, and something has to be taken away, before her after account of the Duke's life can be tied to the real events in which he had taken part. She over-estimated his effect both as soldier and author. She says of him as a soldier; that in all actions where he was "in person himself," he was victorious; whatsoever was lost happened in his absence, and was caused either by the treachery or negligence and carelessness of his officers. Again in one dedication she speaks

of his valour and prudence; and in another of his truth and generosity, reason and knowledge. Hers was the girl's devotion to a veteran or great soldier:

> " And to his honour and valiant parts
> Did I my soul and fortunes consecrate."

She did it the more enthusiastically because she knew his generalship in the northern campaign had been badly criticised and his flight from England made to look ugly. When we recount the brilliant chapter, abruptly ended, in which he figured in the Civil War, we have to admit that wounded vanity and a fear of laughter may be as dangerous to a man's career as physical cowardice. Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* and Rupert's *Diary* leave the case against the Marquis of Newcastle at an acute angle; and it only remains for us to learn how much to heart he and the Duchess took the criticism levelled at him. " 'Tis the life of their fame and death of their name that honourable and valiant men so much love and fear," she says in her funeral oration for a general.

Clarendon sums up the Marquis (as he then was) in a passage often quoted,[1] which is a necessary footnote to the *Life*. It cannot be denied, he had already said, that the Earl of Newcastle, by his rapid winter march with his troops, had saved the city of York from the rebels when they had it in their grasp. " He liked the pomp and absolute authority of a general well," Clarendon continues, " and preserved the dignity of it to the full. . . . But the substantial part and fatigue, he did not in any degree understand (being utterly unacquainted with war); " the more tedious matters of detail he left to General King. We are told of his invincible courage and his fearlessness in danger, and his " exposing himself notoriously, which did sometimes change the fortune of the day when his troops began to give ground." But, and here lies the plain clue to his failure, he was that most deadly of all things in war, a dilettante. " Such articles of action were no sooner

[1] viii. 85.

over than he retired to his delightful company, music, and to his softer pleasures, to all which he was so indulgent, and to his ease, that he would not be interrupted upon what occasion soever; insomuch as he sometimes denied admission to the chiefest officers of the army, even to General King himself, for two days together; *from whence many inconveniences fell out.*"

One cannot help recalling a scene in the Duke's play, *The Triumphant Widow or the Medley of Humours*, which fits this context. It is in fact "a drunken scene," so labelled, in which a Colonel, Sir John Noddy and Justice Spoilwit among others take part:

. . . "Now you talk of a drum," says Sir John, "the Devil take me, 'twas a drummer I spoke of." . . . (He had just spoken of one who was "the wittiest man I ever met with in my life.")

"What, a drummer a witty man?" says the Colonel.

*Sir John.* Ay, the wittiest rogue, my intimate friend. I call him Tom, and he calls me Jack; for all I am a knight. He can break a jest upon his Drum would make you split your sides. . . . He will purr upon the vellum, and then rap upon the wood, makes all the people laugh; and forty other excellent qualities. He is the best company in the world, he will act anything in the world. He will act a stubble goose flying over a gutter; he will act a company of hogs justling in straw for room. But he was an old dog at a parrot and a turkey-cock.

*Justice.* This is a rare man indeed.

*Sir John.* Oh, this is nothing. Why, as well as living creatures, he would act anything that had not life in it—as a pig upon the spit. Nay, I have seen him act a windmill.

*Colonel.* A windmill!

*Sir John.* A windmill; anything in the world, a weathercock, a cart-wheel ungreased, a door off the hinges! . . .

The last of his accomplishments may be omitted from our polite pages although it was in effect lyrical.

There are reminiscent touches of two famous play-

wrights in this lively scene; but it is the evidence it brings of the Duke's taste for humours, in both senses, that counts first. In fact he was too mercurial in temperament to be a perfect general much less a commander of the King's forces. Of his personal charm, his spirit, wit, physical strength and prowess, we know by the tributes paid to him. As a young man, he was like another Dion for his combined grace and promise.

Sir Henry Wotton in a letter (May 9, 1612)[1] speaks of the Italian journey when young Cavendish was in his train: "... at Troyes I rested a day and a half upon a little indispisition *William Cavendish* had contracted, ... being loath to leave so sweet an ornament of my journey, and a gentleman himself of so excellent nature and institution." Add Ben Jonson's epigram in which he describes the earl's fencing:

> "... Give me mettled fire
> That trembles in the blaze, but then mounts higher!
> A quick and dazzling motion; when a pair
> Of bodies meet like rarefied air;
> Their weapons darted with that flame and force
> As they outdid the lightning in the course."

This were a sight "to draw wonder to valour," he says. But the higher courage still is the earl's, the law of daring not to do a wrong, and that of not minding the wrongs done to him by others.

> "All this, my lord, is valour: this is yours,
> And was your father's, all your ancestors,
> Who durst live great 'mongst all the colds and heats
> Of human life; as all the frosts and sweats
> Of fortune, when or death appear'd, or bands;
> And valiant were, with or without their hands."

This was a noble compliment, in the grand style; but we ought to remember that the poet had reason to let his imagination go on this occasion. For the young earl had, with an eye to royal preferment, speculated £20,000 in two masques of Ben Jonson—*Love's Welcome at Welbeck* and *Love's Welcome at Bolsover*, in 1633 and 1634. "I have hurt my estate," he confessed after-

[1] *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, by Logan Pearsall Smith, vol. ii. p. 4.

wards; but the speculation if Civil War had not come would not have been an unprofitable one." The *Life* by the Duchess tells us how splendid these King-and-Queen's entertainments were, and how costly. Possibly she had them in mind when she wrote afterwards of Hospitality and the small return to be got by its lavish displays. "So much kindness of a kind, and so much good nature, good cheer begets," she says, "yet it will last no longer than the meat sticks in the teeth." . . .

Her lord's later career, during and after his period of exile, is told with a certain stately fidelity in the *Life*. Her feeling for the court was very much his own, when his energies had grown less, and the whole fashion and temper of society had changed with the Restoration. In her play, *Love's Adventures*, the Duchess makes her hero, Lord Singularity, say, "I had rather march ten miles with an Artillery, than travel one with a Court; and I had rather fight a battel, than be bound to ceremony or flattery, which must be practised if one lives at Court." To which the heroine, who is simply herself in a twin disguise, responds: "I think they are the most happiest, that are least acquainted with a great Monarch's Court." Whether or no she was a good mate to her lord in his efforts to retrench, and build up again his fallen fortunes, may be argued both ways. She tells us in her letters that she was too much wrapt up in her ideas and the business of getting them set down before their savour was gone, to give much of her time to her maids and her housekeeping.

The most tell-tale glimpses of their life abroad to be got outside her two memoirs are to be had in the letters reprinted at the end of this volume. A more stately commentary upon the Duke's doings in exile, as a *chevalier par excellence* lies in his amazing great folio on horsemanship and the art of training horses, which he wrote in English and had translated into French, and published with lavish extravagance at Antwerp. It cost £1300, a huge sum for those days, and two friends helped him to print and publish the work.

The original French title runs, when somewhat

abbreviated: *La Methode Nouvelle . . . de dresser les Chevaux les travailler selon la Nature, . . . par Le tres-noble, haut et tres-puissant Prince Guillaume Marquis et Comte de Newcastle.* . . . Anvers, 1868. If the author's portrait appears once in its pages, it appears a hundred times. In one of several frontispieces, a double-page cartoon, we see him seated within a chariot drawn by centaurs, with a circle of twenty superb horses kneeling and worshipping him; another shows him flying on horseback through the air, with eleven steeds rampant.

He did not give up his horsemanship on his return home. Since his banishment, said his wife, he set up a race of horses instead of those he lost by the wars; and often he used " to ride through his park to see his breed." The companion piece to this is that of the Duchess expected at Court, as Pepys sketched her in his *Diary*, April 11th, 1667:

"To White Hall, thinking there to have seen the Duchess of Newcastle's coming this night to Court, to make a visit to the Queen, the King having been with her yesterday, to make her a visit since her coming to town. The whole story of this lady is a romance, and all she does is romantic. Her footmen in velvet coats, and herself in an antique dress, as they say; and was the other day at her own play, *The Humourous Lovers;* the most ridiculous thing that ever was wrote, but yet she and her Lord mightily pleased with it; and she, at the end, made her respects to the players from her box, and did give them thanks. There is as much expectation of her coming to Court, that so people may come to see her, as if it were the Queen of Sheba; but I lost my labour, for she did not come this night."

He was more fortunate a few days later in the same month; for we have the following entry on the 26th:

"Met my Lady Newcastle going with her coachmen and footmen all in velvet: herself, whom I never saw before, as I have heard her often described, for all the town-talk is now-a-days of her extravagancies, with her velvet-cap, her hair about her ears; many black patches,

because of pimples about her mouth; naked-necked, without any thing about it, and a black *just-au-corps*. She seemed to me a very comely woman: but I hope to see more of her on May-day."

And on May-day (the same upon which he saw Nell Gwynn in Drury Lane) he had at least a sensation of her in black-and-white:

"Thence Sir W. Pen and I in his coach, Tiburne way, into the Park, where a horrid dust, and number of coaches, without pleasure or order. That which we, and almost all went for, was to see my Lady Newcastle; which we could not, she being followed and crowded upon by coaches all the way she went, that nobody could come near her; only I could see she was in a large black coach, adorned with silver instead of gold, and so white curtains, and every thing black and white, and herself in her cap."

We see by these accounts that she was something of a nine days' wonder, and a prodigy. The Court half wondered, half laughed at her preciosity, her strange garments and strange self-obsession.

Mistress Evelyn gives us an indoor portrait, sketched in a letter about the same time, which more than confirms the notion of her that then passed current as an "original" and a chimera.

"I was surprised to find so much extravagancy and vanity in any person not confined within four walls. Her habit particular, fantastical, not unbecoming a good shape, which she may truly boast of. Her face discovers the facility of the sex, in being yet persuaded it deserves the esteem years forbid, by the infinite care she takes to place her curls and patches. Her mien surpasses the imagination of poets, or the descriptions of a romance heroine's greatness; her gracious bows, seasonable nods, courteous stretching out of her hands, twinkling of her eyes, and various gestures of approbation, show what may be expected from her discourse, which is as airy, empty, whimsical, and rambling as her books, aiming at science, difficulties, high notions, terminating commonly in nonsense, oaths and obscenity."

In the same interview, she seems to have more than reached her points in philosophy, with the unstinted homage of Dr. Charlton: for "she swore if the schools did not banish Aristotle," and read her instead, "they did her wrong." This for a woman of wit was a parlous self-delusion. But indeed if humour is wit lifted into an atmosphere, one is obliged to confess that with all her wit Margaret Newcastle had small humour to spare for her own foibles. Everything that could be got by the most intrepid mental gymnastics was hers; and if the act of writing were a sure sign of the abstruse business of thinking, she might have become the philosopher she believed herself to be, but assuredly was not.

Wit as it was then understood—something between wit, the play of fancy, and the real "intellects,"[1] as Dr. Johnson defined it—was her test of both the affections of the mind and the ailments of the body. Writing "Of Apoplexies, and the like," she says, "when the head, which is the chimney-top of the body, is set on fire by the fever, the brain becomes idle and frantick. But the vapour that ascends to the head is either a great friend or enemy to the wit; for a gross vapour chokes the wit, while a thin sharp vapour quickens it."

Her theory of the kind of fluid intelligence, of which a brain may become the vehicle, appears in her curious account of the reason why musicians are so often mad. This is not due to the "pride bred by the conceit of their rare art and skill." No, it is really caused "by the motion of the musick," which being swifter than the ordinary motion of the brain, distempers that organ by quickening its pace to the motion of the fiddle; this puts the brain so out of tune that it is very seldom tunable again, and "as a ship is swallowed by a whirlpit in the sea, so is reason drown'd in the whirlpit of the brain."

This is well put if extravagant, and even sounds original; but though the Duchess is very anxious to protest that she is indebted to nobody for her ideas in science and philosophy—when we turn to the pages of some of her contemporaries, we come upon her sources

[1] "Will ever acts, and wit contemplates still."—*Davies.*

plainly enough. Hobbes of the *Leviathan* was a friend of the Duke's, and visited at Welbeck, and in his *Decameron Physiologicum* and elsewhere are chapters such as that "Of Hard and Soft, and of the Atoms that fly in the Air," which no doubt she had read and pondered. A *Treatise on Optics* too is extant by Hobbes, and in the course of the dedication to the Duke the author says his pages are grounded upon ideas affirmed at Welbeck "about sixteen years since to your Lopp,—that light is a fancy in the mind caused by motion in the brain, which motion again is caused by the motion of ye parts of such bodies as we call *lucid:* such as are the sun and ye fixed stars, and such as here on earth is fire."

Hobbes was one of the contributors to the amazing volume of high-flown eulogies addressed to the Duchess by her friends and admirers; and in it he said her writings had given him "more and truer ideas of virtue and honour than any book of morality he had ever read." This refers probably to *Nature's Pictures;* and, for her plays, "if some comique writer have been able to present vices upon the stage more ridiculously and immodestly, by which they take their rabble, I reckon that amongst your praises. For that which most pleases lewd spectators is nothing but subtile cheating or filch, which a high and noble mind endued with virtue from its infancy can never come to the knowledge of." (Feb. 9, 1661.)

Actually, one must confess that her two books of plays are likely to cause despair to the reader. But when he has decided it is impossible to read them at any purchase, he will find that the best of the number has at least an interest that is auto-dramatic and personal. The first collection of the plays is in the folio of 1662, which runs to 679 pages and contains some thirteen of them, chiefly comedies, and many of these in two parts. The volume has a lavish set of dedicatory pages;—a general dedication in verse which tells the pleasure she took in play-writing:

> "For all the time my Playes a making were,
> My brain the Stage, my thoughts were acting there;"

an epistle dedicatory to My Lord; three prose-dedications to the noble readers; a "General Prologue to all my Playes;" an address in verse from the Duke to his lady which begins,

"Terence and Plautus wits we now do scorn;"

seven more prose-addresses or dedications to the noble readers, and finally a dramatic prelude or introduction to the first play in which the proverbial "Three Gentlemen" take part. The opening pages show her concern for the reader's attitude toward a play-writing woman. "A woman write a Play!" says the second gentleman; "Out upon it . . . a woman and a lady to write a play; fye, fye!" "Why may not a woman write a good Play?" asks the third gentleman, and the first says, "But if a woman hath wit, or can write a good Play, what will you say then?" "Why," says the second gentleman, "I will say no body will believe it."

After this one turns to the plays with some anxiety for her fate in the struggle with public opinion; and as it happens the first play, which has already been quoted, *Love's Adventures*, is the best: almost good enough to make one hope the Duchess, having wagered herself against the pigmies, is going to achieve at least one success.

In this, as in all her plays, the characters suffer from their names which according to a bad old fashion are the labels of their owners' qualities. The hero is "The Lord Singularity," and his father, The Lord Fatherly; the other male personages include Sir Serious Dumbe and Sir Timothy Complement. Among the ladies we find the Lady Ignorant, the Lady Wagtaile, the Lady Amorous, the Lady Bashful; the heroine is the Lady Orphant. The story is the familiar one of a soldier loved by a true maid, who puts on boy's attire and follows him to the wars, under the absurd name, Affectionata. In the course of the war, the Lady Orphant, in the boy's guise, is adopted by her lover, the Lord Singularity, General of the forces, as his heir. She has her feminine triumph, too; for she is invited by the Venetian States

to become Lieutenant General of their whole armie. We see her "in brave cloths, hat and feather, and a sword by her side," and a great many commanders in attendance on her. The end may be foreseen; and the story is a natural outcome of the life of a soldier who lived in exile and won a young wife to share it with him.

In Scene 13 of the *Comedy of the Apocriphal Ladies*, the stage directions open: "Enter the Comical Dutchess"; and she is further described as being in the state which to-day no one could possibly associate with comical. The scene rapidly runs to a close which more than enhances the startling character of the opening.

The Duke's plays are much better than the Duchess's. He had at least a sense of comedy, and he could of his own part, and not only as the pupil of Molière and Jonson, make his audience laugh. Pepys speaks of "Sir Martin Mar-all,"—the play from Molière's *L'Etourdi*, in which the Duke and Dryden both had a hand, with a sort of comic rapture. "It is the most entire piece of mirth," he says, "a complete farce from one end to the other, that certainly was ever writ. I never laughed so in all my life. I laughed till my head (ached) all the evening and night with the laughing; and at very good wit therein, not fooling." Some of the credit at least for this orgy of laughter may be given to the Duke, for he has scenes of his own devising which touch a similar note of comic extravagance. Pepys had, as we heard previously, no words bad enough for some other of the Newcastle plays, two of which at least the Duke wrote with the Duchess's partial collaboration.

From the plays, turn to their songs and poems. The Duke wrote most of his verse *à la mode;* and much of it he contributed to the dramatic and other works of the Duchess. In the folio at the British Museum of *Nature's Pictures* there is an entry in her own writing against four songs of sorrow and death: "These songs my Lord writt." The third of them, while not wholly original, touches the Duke's highest mark in verse:

"Why should I live, but who doth know
The way to him, or where to go?
Death's ignorant, the dead they have
No sense of grief when in the grave.

"Forgetful and unthankful Death,
Hast thou no love, when stops the breath,
No gratitude, but there dost lie
In dark oblivion for to die?

"No sense of love, or honour, there?
Then Death, I prithee me forbear.
Thousands of years in sorrow I
Would live in grief and never die."

More frequently he uses the lyric and amorist mode of that time, as in the song in his comedy, *The Variety:*

"Thine eyes to me like suns appear."

Three fourths of the Duchess's poetry we could spare without hurt to her fame, and indeed with some gain to her journey into time. But even in her most tedious perfunctory exercises, there are often surprising gleams, while at times she achieves a piece of tapestry in verse which is rare and fine. Such is her spring cartoon in her Song of the Four Seasons:

"Although I am not rich in wit,
Nor know what tales your humours fit:
Yet in my young and budding muse
Will draw the seasons of the year,
Like prentice painters which do use
The same, to make their skill appear.
But Nature is the hand to guide
The pencil of the mind, and place
The shadows so that they may hide
All the defects or givt a grace.
The Spring is dress'd in buds and blossoms sweet,
And grass-green socks she draws upon her feet;
Of freshest air a garment she cuts out,
With painted tulips fringèd round about,
And lines it all within with violets blue
And yellow primrose of the palest hue.
Then wears an apron made of lilies white,
And laced about it is with rays of light."

Her Fairy poems are of their kind—a kind that makes the fairies into delicious lilliputian things—to be named with Herrick's and Shakespeare's; and her Queen Mab is exquisite:

" She on a dewy leaf doth bathe,
And as she sits, the leaf doth wave;
There like a new-fallen flake of snow,
Doth her white limbs in beauty shew.
Her garments fair her maids put on,
Made of the pure light from the sun."

And her study in a pair of figures, of Mirth and Melancholy, shows her imaginative vein at its richest:

" Mirth laughing came, and running to me flung
Her fat white arms about my neck; there hung
Imbrac'd and kiss'd me oft, and strok'd my cheek,
Saying she would no other lover seek,—
' I'll sing you songs, and please you every day,
Invent new sports to pass the time away.'

. . . . . .

But Melancholy, she will make you lean,
Your cheeks shall hollow grow, your jaws be seen . . ."

But the whole poem must be read to be savoured truly. It used to be said that Milton had borrowed from it; the truth probably lay the other way about. It seems her feeling about her own verse was less than her pride in her philosophy. She writes in answer to a request for her opinion of Virgil and Ovid, as to which she thought was the better poet: " Truly, Madam, my reason, skill, or understanding in poetry and poets is not sufficient to give a judgment of two such famous poets, and their poetry, for though I am a poetess, yet I am but a poetastress, or a petty poetess, but howsoever, I am a legitimate poetical child of nature, and though my poems, which are the body of the poetical soul, are not so beautiful and pleasing as the rest of her poetical childrens bodies are, yet I am nevertheless her child, although but a brownet. . . ."

She would not have been a true daughter of her century, as well as a child of nature and a " brownet," had she not ventured on conceits in her verse, where it turns to themes like *Nature's Dissert*, which offers strange confectionery:

" Sweet marmalade of kisses newly gather'd,
Preserved children, which were never father'd
Sugar of beauty, which away melts soon,
Marchpane of youth, and childish macaroon;

Sugar-plum-words, which fall sweet from the lips,
And wafer-promises mould'ring like chips;
Biskets of love, which crumble all away,
Jelly of fear, which shak'd and quivering lay:
Then was a fresh green-sickness cheese brought in,
And tempting fruit, like that which *Eve* made sin, . . ."

The writer who could write these lines, and then clear her style to suit her fairy verse, or in prose achieve the *Life*, and the *Memoirs*, and the best of the *Sociable Letters* with which this volume ends, was truly a portent. No doubt the majority of the *Letters* were, like the *Epistolæ HoÆlianæ*, imaginary and never saw the post. In one of the twelve or thirteen dedicatory epistles to her folio of Plays (1662) she says: " But after some idle time, at last I fell upon a vein of writing letters, and so fast did the vein run at first, as in one fortnight I writ above three score letters; but I find it begins to flag. Like one that hath been let much bloud formerly, it may gush or stream full out, but cannot bleed long. . . . So it is in my writing, for though I desire to make them up a hundred, yet I believe I shall not go much further." However she went as far as CCII.

A few only, which are at the end of the folio, appear to have been actually written to her sister Pye and others. The rest, while they vary greatly in contents, and often take their colour from a change of scene, are written more or less to the same pattern. It is easy to mark in reading them where the literary invention ekes out the epistolary note of some actual occasion. Since her *Letters* won Elia's praise, following him we may count her safely among the best English letter-writers and biographers of her own sex, and then put her in a place of honour among the poets. If we admit that she is among the worst of our playwrights in either sex, who have survived in the record, and that her philosophy is nil, it does not reduce the wonder of her achievement.

We end by loving her in the Elian way and replacing her on his gallery. We picture her with the Duke as very happy at Welbeck and other great houses after the Restoration, and she was well inspired to die before him,

since this gave him the chance of writing her Epitaph—one that Addison admired:

HERE LYES THE LOYALL DUKE OF NEWCASTLE AND HIS DUTCHES HIS SECOND WIFE, BY WHOME HE HAD NOE ISSUE: HER NAME WAS MARGARETT LUCAS, YOUNGEST SISTER TO THE LORD LUCAS OF COLCHESTER, A NOBLE FAMILIE: FOR ALL THE BROTHERS WERE VALIANT, AND ALL THE SISTERS VIRTUOUS. THIS DUTCHES WAS A WISE, WITTIE AND LEARNED LADY, WHICH HER MANY BOOKS DOE WELL TESTIFIE: SHE WAS A MOST VIRTUOUS AND A LOVING AND CAREFUL WIFE AND WAS WITH HER LORD ALL THE TIME OF HIS BANISHMENT AND MISERIES: AND WHEN HE CAME HOME NEVER PARTED FROM HIM IN HIS SOLITARY RETIREMENT.

Diepenbeke's uncounted portraits of the Duke on horseback, and his and other pictures of the Duchess in theatrical or other dress, make it evident that they were, in spite of a disparity of thirty years or more, a comely and well-matched pair. Margaret Newcastle died on the seventh of January, 1673-4, and was buried in Westminster Abbey; we should need the hand of Pepys to describe the funeral. As for the Duke, he died 25 Dec:, 1676, and followed her to the Abbey, where he lies in St. Michael's Chapel. We might steal two lines from those he wrote for his wife's play, *Bell in Campo*, to close the scene:

> "Oh, Death hath shaked me kindly by the hand,
> To bid me welcome to the silent grave."

E. R.

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# THE LIFE OF THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE, WILLIAM DUKE OF NEWCASTLE

# The
# LIFE
## Of The
## Thrice Noble, High and Puissant Prince
# WILLIAM CAVENDISHE

Duke, Marquess, and Earl of Newcastle;
Earl of Ogle; Viscount Mansfield;
and Baron of Bolsover, of Ogle, Bothal and Hepple:
Gentleman of His Majesties Bed-chamber;
one of His Majesties most Honourable Privy Councel;
Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter;
His Majesties Lieutenant
of the County and Town of Nottingham;
and Justice in Ayre Trent North:
who had the honour to be Governour
to our most Glorious King, and Gracious Soveraign,
in his Youth, when He was Prince of Wales;
and soon after was made Captain General
of all the Provinces beyond the River of Trent,
and other Parts of the Kingdom of England,
with Power, by a special Commission, to make Knights.

Written
By the thrice Noble, Illustrious, and Excellent
Princess
Margaret Duchess of Newcastle,
His 2d. wife.

London
Printed by A. Maxwell, in the Year 1667.

# TO HIS MOST SACRED MAJESTY CHARLES THE SECOND

By the Grace of God, of *England, Scotland, France* and *Ireland* King, Defender of the Faith, Etc.

*May it please your Majesty,*

I HAVE, in confidence of your gracious acceptance, taken the boldness, or rather the presumption, to dedicate to your Majesty this short history (which is as full of truths, as words) of the actions and sufferings of your most loyal subject, My Lord and husband (by your Majesties late favour) Duke of Newcastle; who when your Majesty was Prince of Wales, was your most careful governour, and honest servant. Give me therefore leave to relate here, that I have heard him often say, he loves your royal person so dearly, that he would most willingly, upon all occasions, sacrifice his life and posterity for your Majesty: whom that Heaven will ever bless, is the prayer of

*Your most obedient, loyal, humble subject and servant,*

MARGARET NEWCASTLE.

# TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE

My Noble Lord,

*It hath always been my hearty prayer to God, since I have been your wife, that first I might prove an honest and good wife, whereof your Grace must be the onely judg(e) : next, that God would be pleased to enable me to set forth and declare to after-ages, the truth of your loyal actions and endeavours, for the service of your King and country ; for the accomplishing of which design, I have followed the best and truest observations of your secretary* John Rolleston, *and your Lordship's own relations, and have accordingly writ the history of your Lordship's life, which although I have endeavoured to render as perspicuous as ever I could, yet one thing I find hath much darkened it ; which, is, that your Grace commanded me not to mention any thing or passage to the prejudice or disgrace of any family or particular person (although they might be of great truth, and would illustrate much the actions of your life) which I have dutifully performed to satisfie your Lordship, whose nature is so generous, that you are as well pleased to obscure the faults of your enemies, as you are to divulge the vertues of your friends. And certainly, My Lord, you have had as many enemies, and as many friends, as ever any one particular person had ; and I pray God to forgive the one, and prosper the other : Nor do I so much wonder at it, since I, a woman, cannot be exempt from the malice and aspersions of spightful tongues, which they cast upon my poor*

*writings, some denying me to be the true Authoress of them; for your Grace remembers well, that those books I put out first, to the judgment of this censorious age, were accounted not to be written by a woman, but that some body else had writ and published them in my name; by which your Lordship was moved to prefix an epistle before one of them in my vindication, wherein you assure the world upon your honour, that what was written and printed in my name, was my own; and I have also made known, that your Lordship was my onely tutor, in declaring to me what you had found and observed by your own experience; for I being young when your Lordship married me, could not have much knowledge of the world; but it pleased God to command his servant Nature to indue me with a poetical and philosophical genius, even from my birth; for I did write some books, in that kind, before I was twelve years of age, which for want of good method and order, I would never divulge. But though the world would not believe that those conceptions and fancies which I writ, were my own, but transcended my capacity, yet they found fault, that they were defective for want of learning; and on the other side, they said I had pluckt feathers out of the Universities; which was a very preposterous judgment. Truly, My Lord, I confess that for want of scholarship, I could not express my self so well as otherwise I might have done, in those philosophical writings I published first; but after I was returned with your Lordship into my native country, and led a retired country life, I applied my self to the reading of philosophical authors, of purpose to learn those names and words of art that are used in schools; which at first were so hard to me, that I could not understand them, but was fain to guess at the sense of them by the whole context, and so writ them down as I found them in those*

*authors, at which my readers did wonder, and thought it impossible that a woman could have so much learning and understanding in terms of art, and scholastical expressions; so that I and my books are like the old Apologue mentioned in* Æsop, *of a father, and his son, who rid on an ass through a town when his father went on foot, at which sight the people shouted and cried shame, that a young boy should ride, and let his father, an old man, go on foot: whereupon the old man got upon the ass, and let his son go by; but when they came to the next town, the people exclaimed against the father, that he a lusty man should ride, and have no more pity of his young and tender child, but let him go on foot: then both the father and his son got upon the ass, and coming to the third town, the people blamed them both for being so unconscionable as to over-burden the poor ass with their heavy weight: After this both father and son went on foot, and led the ass; and when they came to the fourth town, the people railed as much at them as ever the former had done, and called them both fools for going on foot, when they had a beast able to carry them. The old man, seeing he could not please mankind in any manner, and having received so many blemishes and aspersions, for the sake of his ass, was at last resolved to drown him when he came to the next bridge. But I am not so passionate to burn my writings for the various homours of mankind, and for their finding fault, since there is nothing in this world, be it the noblest and most commendable action whatsoever, that shall escape blameless. As for my being the true and onely Authoress of them, your Lordship knows best, and my attending servants are witness that I have had none but my own thoughts, fancies and speculations to assist me; and as soon as I have set them down, I send them to those that are to transcribe*

*them, and fit them for the Press; whereof since there have been several, and amongst them such as onely could write a good hand, but neither understood orthography, nor had any learning (I being then in banishment with your Lordship, and not able to maintain learned secretaries) which hath been a great disadvantage to my poor works, and the cause that they have been printed so false, and so full of errors; for besides that I want also the skill of scholarship and true writing, I did many times not peruse the copies that were transcribed, lest they should disturb my following conceptions; by which neglect, as I said, many errors are slipt into my works, which yet I hope learned and impartial readers will soon rectifie, and look more upon the sense, than carp at words. I have been a student even from my childhood, and since I have been your Lordship's wife, I have lived for the most part a strict and retired life, as is best known to your Lordship, and therefore my censurers cannot know much of me, since they have little or no acquaintance with me: 'Tis true, I have been a traveller both before and after I was married to your Lordship, and sometimes shew my self at your Lordship's command in publick places or assemblies; but yet I converse with few. Indeed, My Lord, I matter not the censures of this age, but am rather proud of them; for it shews that my actions are more then ordinary, and according to the old proverb,* It is better to be envied, then pitied: *for I know well, that it is meerly out of spight and malice, whereof this present age is so full, that none can escape them, and they'l make no doubt to stain even your Lordship's loyal, noble and heroick actions, as well as they do mine, though yours have been of war and fighting, mine of contemplating and writing: yours were performed publickly in the field, mine privately in my closet: yours had many*

*thousand eye-witnesses, mine none but my waiting-maids. But the great God that hath hitherto blessed both your Grace and me, will, I question not, preserve both our fames to after ages, for which we shall be bound most humbly to acknowledge his great mercy; and I my self, as long as I live, be*

*Your Grace's honest Wife*
*and Humble Servant*
*M. NEWCASTLE.*

# THE PREFACE

When I first intended to write this History, knowing my self to be no scholar, and as ignorant of the rules of writing histories, as I have in my other works acknowledged my self to be of the names and terms of art, I desired My Lord, that he would be pleased to let me have some elegant and learned historian to assist me; which request his Grace would not grant me; saying, that having never had any assistance in the writing of my former books, I should have no other in the writing of his Life, but the informations from himself, and his secretary, of the chief transactions and fortunes occurring in it, to the time he married me. I humbly answered, that without a learned assistant, the History would be defective: But he replied, that truth could not be defective. I said again, that rhetorick did adorn truth: and he answered, that rhetorick was fitter for falsehoods then truths. Thus I was forced by his Grace's commands, to write this History in my own plain style, without elegant flourishings, or exquisite method, relying intirely upon truth, in the expressing whereof, I have been very circumspect; as knowing well that his Grace's actions have so much glory of their own. that they need borrow none from any bodies industry.

Many learned men, I know, have published rules and directions concerning the method and style of histories, and do with great noise, to little purpose, make loud exclamations against those historians, that keeping close to the truth of their narrations, cannot think it necessary to follow slavishly such

instructions; and there is some men of good understandings, as I have heard, that applaud very much several histories, meerly for their elegant style, and well-observed method; setting a high value upon feigned orations, mystical designs, and fancied policies, which are, at the best, but pleasant romances. Others approve, in the relations of wars, and of military actions, such tedious descriptions, that the reader, tired with them, will imagine that there was more time spent in assaulting, defending, and taking of a fort, or a petty garison, then Alexander did employ in conquering the greatest part of the world: which proves, that such historians regard more their own eloquence, wit and industry, and the knowledge they believe to have of the actions of war, and of all manner of governments, than of the truth of the history, which is the main thing, and wherein consists the hardest task, very few historians knowing the transactions they write of, and much less the counsels, and secret designs of many different parties, which they confidently mention.

Although there be many sorts of histories, yet these three are the chiefest: (1) a general history. (2) A national history. (3) A particular history. Which three sorts may, not unfitly, be compared to the three sorts of governments, Democracy, Aristocracy, and Monarchy. The first is the history of the known parts and people of the world; the second is the history of a particular nation, kingdom or commonwealth. The third is the history of the life and actions of some particular person. The first is profitable for travellers, navigators and merchants; the second is pernicious, by reason it teaches subtil policies, begets factions, not onely between particular families and persons, but also between whole nations, and great princes,

rubbing old sores, and renewing old quarrels, that would otherwise have been forgotten. The last is the most secure; because it goes not out of its own circle, but turns on its own axis, and for the most part, keeps within the circumference of truth. The first is mechanical, the second political, and the third heroical. The first should onely be written by travellers and navigators; the second by statesmen; the third by the prime actors, or the spectators of those affairs and actions of which they write, as Cæsar's *Commentaries* are, which no pen but of such an author, who was also actor in the particular occurrences, private intrigues, secret counsels, close designs, and rare exploits of war he relates, could ever have brought to so high perfection.

This History is of the third sort, as that is; and being of the life and actions of My Noble Lord and husband, who hath informed me of all the particular passages I have recorded, I cannot, though neither actor, nor spectator, be thought ignorant of the truth of what I write; nor is it inconsistent with my being a woman, to write of wars, that was neither between Medes and Persians, Greeks and Trojans, Christians and Turks; but among my own countreymen, whose customs and inclinations, and most of the persons that held any considerable place in the armies, was well known to me; and besides all that (which is above all) my noble and loyal Lord did act a chief part in that fatal tragedy, to have defended (if humane power could have done it) his most Gracious Soveraign, from the fury of his rebellious subjects.

This History being (as I have said) of a particular person, his actions, and fortunes; it cannot be expected, that I should here preach of the beginning of the world; nor seem to express understanding in

the politicks, by tedious moral discourses, with long observations upon the several sorts of government that have been in Greece and Rome, and upon others more modern; I will neither endeavour to make show of eloquence, making speeches that never was spoken, nor pretend to great skill in war, by making mountains of mole-hills, and telling romantical falsehoods for historical truths; and much less will I write to amuse my readers, in a mystical and allegorical style, of the disloyal actions of the opposite party, of the treacherous cowardise, envy and malice of some persons, My Lord's enemies, and of the ingratitude of some of his seeming friends; wherein I cannot better obey his Lordship's commands to conceal those things, then in leaving them quite out, as I do, with submission to his Lordship's desire, from whom I have learned patience to overcome my passions, and discretion to yield to his prudence.

Thus am I resolved to write, in a natural plain style, without Latin sentences, moral instructions, politick designs, feigned orations, or envious and malicious exclamations, this short history of the loyal, heroick and prudent actions of my noble Lord, as also of his sufferings, losses, and ill-fortunes, which in honour and conscience I could not suffer to be buried in silence; nor could I have undertaken so hard a task, had not my love to his person, and to truth, been my encourager and supporter.

I might have made this book larger, in transcribing (as is ordinary in histories) the several letters, full of affection, and kind promises he received from His Gracious Soveraign, Charles the First, and from his Royal Consort, in the time he was in the actions of war, as also since the war, from his dear soveraign and master, Charles the Second; but many of the

former letters having been lost, when all was lost; I thought it best, seeing I had not them all, to print none. As for orations, which is another way of swelling the bulk of histories; it is certain, that My Lord made not many; chusing rather to fight, then to talk; and his declarations having been printed already, it had been superfluous to insert them in these narrations.

This book would, however, have been a great volume if his Grace would have given me leave to publish his enemies actions; but being to write of his own onely, I do it briefly and truly; and not as many have done, who have written of the late civil war, with but few sprinklings of truth, like as heat-drops upon a dry barren ground; knowing no more of the transactions of those times, then what they learned in the gazets, which, for the most part (out of Policy to amuse and deceive the people), contain nothing but falsehoods and chimeraes; and were such parasites, that after the King's party was overpowered, the government among the rebels changing from one faction to another, they never missed to exalt highly the merits of the chief commanders of the then prevailing side, comparing some of them to Moses, and some others to all the great and most famous heroes, both Greeks and Romans; wherein, unawares, they exceedingly commended my noble Lord; for if those ring-leaders of factions were so great men as they are reported to be, by those time-servers, how much greater must his Lordship be, who beat most of them, except the Earl of Essex, whose employment was never in the northern parts, where all the rest of the greatest strength of the parliament was sent, to oppose My Lord's forces, which was the greatest the King's party had any where.

Good fortune is such an idol of the world, and is so like the golden calf worshipped by the Israelites, that those arch-rebels never wanted astrologers to foretel them good success in all their enterprises, nor poets to sing their praises, nor orators for panegyricks; nay, which is worse, nor historians neither, to record their valour in fighting, and wisdom in governing. But being, so much as I am, above base profit, or any preferment whatsoever, I cannot fear to be suspected of flattery, in declaring to the world the merits, wealth, power, loyalty, and fortunes of my noble Lord, who hath done great actions, suffered great losses, endured a long banishment, for his loyalty to his King and countrey; and leads now, like another Scipio, a quiet countrey-life. If notwithstanding all this, any should say, that those who write histories of themselves, and their own actions, or of their own party, or instruct and inform those that write them are partial to themselves; I answer, that it is very improbable, worthy persons, who having done great, noble and heroick exploits, deserving to be recorded, should be so vain, as to write false histories; but if they do, it proves but their folly; for truth can never be concealed, and so it will be more for their disgrace, then for their honour or fame. I fear not any such blemishes in this present History, for I am not conscious of any such crime as partiality or falsehood, but write it whilest my noble Lord is yet alive, and at such a time where truth may be declared, and falsehood contradicted; and I challenge any one (although I be a woman) to contradict any thing that I have set down, or prove it to be otherwise then truth; for be there never so many contradictions, truth will conquer all at last.

Concerning My Lord's actions in war, which are

comprehended in the first book, the relation of them I have chiefly from My Lord's secretary Mr. Rolleston, a person that has been an eye-witness thereof, and accompanied My Lord as secretary in his army, and gave out all his commissions; his honesty and worth is unquestionable by all that know him. And as for the second book, which contains My Lord's actions and sufferings, during the time of his exile, I have set down so much as I could possibly call to mind, without any particular expression of time, onely from the time of his banishment, or rather (what I can remember) from the time of my marriage, till our return into England. To the end of which I have joined a computation of My Lord's losses, which he hath suffered by those unfortunate warres. In the third book I have set down some particular chapters concerning the description of his person, his natural faculties, and personal vertues, etc. And in the last, some essayes and discourses of My Lord's, together with some notes and remarques of mine own; which I thought most convenient to place by themselves at the end of this work, rather then to intermingle them with the body of the history.

It might be some prejudice to My Lord's glory, and the credit of this History, not to take notice of a very considerable thing I have heard, which is, That when his Lordship's army had got so much strength and reputation, that the rebellious Parliament finding themselves overpowered with it, rather then to be utterly ruined (as was unavoidable), did call the Scots to their assistance, with a promise to reward so great a service with the four northern counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmerland, and the Bishoprick of Durham, which I have not mentioned in the book.

And it is most certain, that the parliament forces were never powerful, nor their commanders or officers famous, until such time as My Lord was overpowered; neither could loyalty have been overpowered by rebellion, had not treachery had better fortune then prudence.

When I speak of My Lord's pedigree, where Thomas Earl of Arundel, Grandfather to the now Duke of Norfolk, is mentioned, they have left out William Viscount Stafford, one of his sons, who did marry the heir of the last Baron Stafford, descended from the Dukes of Buckingham; which was set down in my original manuscript.

Some of those omissions, and very probably others, are happened, partly for want of timely information, and chiefly by the death of my secretary who did copy my writings for the Press, and dyed in London, attending that service, afore the printing of the book was quite finished. And as I hope of your favour to be excused for omitting those things in the book; so I expect of your justice to be approved in putting them here, though somewhat unseasonably.

Before I end this preface, I do beseech my readers not to mistake me when I speak of My Lord's banishment, as if I would conceal that he went voluntarily out of his native country; for it is most true, that his Lordship prudently perceiving all the King's party lost, not onely in England, but also in Scotland and Ireland; and that it was impossible to withstand the rebels, after the fatal overthrow of his army; his Lordship, in a poor and mean condition quitted his own countrey, and went beyond sea; soon after which, the Rebels having got an absolute power, and granted a general pardon to all those that would come in to them, upon composition, at the rates they

had set down, his Lordship, with but few others, was excepted from it, both for life and estate, and did remain thus banished till His Majesties happy restauration.

I must also acknowledge, that I have committed great errors in taking no notice of times as I should have done in many places of this History: I mention in one place the Queen Mother's being in France, when My Lord went thither, but do not say in what year that was: Nor do I express when His Majesty (our now Gracious Soveraign) came in, and went out again several times from that kingdom, which has happened, for want of memory, and I desire my readers to excuse me for it.

No body can certainly be more ready to find faults in this work then I am to confess them; being very conscious that I have, as I told My Lord I should, committed many for want of learning, and chiefly of skill in writing histories: but having, according to his Lordship's commands, written his actions and fortunes truly and plainly, I have reason to expect, that whatsoever else shall be found amiss, will be favourably pardoned by the candid readers, to whom I wish all manner of happiness.

# AN EPISTLE TO HER GRACE THE DUCHESS OF NEWCASTLE

May it please your Grace,

*I have been taught, and do believe, that obedience is better then sacrifice; and know, that both are due from me to your Grace; and since I have been so long in obeying your commands, I shall not presume to use any arguments for my excuse, but rather chuse ingeniously to confess my fault, and beg your Grace's pardon. And because forgiveness is a glory to the supreamest powers, I will hope that your Grace by that great example will make it yours. And now I humbly take leave to represent to your Grace, as faithfully and truly as my memory will serve me, all my observations of the most memorable actions, and honourable deportments of His Grace, my most noble lord and master,* William *Duke of* Newcastle, *in the execution and performance of the trusts and high employments committed and commended to his care and charge by three kings of* England; *that is to say, King* James, *King* Charles *the First, of ever blessed memory; and our gracious King,* Charles *the Second; under whom he hath had the happiness to live, and the honour to serve them in several capacities: And because I humbly conceive, that it is not within the intention of your Grace's commands, that I should give you a particular relation of his Grace's high birth, his noble and princely education and breeding, both at*

*home and abroad; his natural faculties, and personal vertues; his justice, bounty, charity, friendship; his right approved courage, and true valour, not grounded upon, or governed by passion, but reason; his magnificent manner of living and supporting his dignity, testified by his great entertainments of their Majesties, and his private friends, upon all fit occasions, besides his ordinary and constant housekeeping and attendants; some for honour, and some for business, wherein he exceeded most for his quality; and that he was, and is an incomparable master to his servants, is sufficiently testified by all or most of the chiefest of them, living and dying in his Grace's service, which is an argument that they thought themselves as happy therein, as the world could make them; nor of his well-chosen pleasures, which were principally horses of all sorts, but more particularly horses of mannage; his study and art of the true use of the sword; his magnificent buildings. These are his chiefest delights, wherein his Grace spared for no cost nor charge, which are sufficiently manifested to the world; for other delights, as those of running horses, hawking, hunting, etc. His Grace used them meerly for societies sake, and out of a generous and obliging nature to please others, though his knowledge in them excelled, as well as in the other. And yet notwithstanding these his large and vast expences, before his Grace was called to the Court, he encreased his revenue by way of purchase to a great value; and when he was called to the Court, he was then free from debts, and, as I have heard, some thousands of pounds in his purse. These particulars, and as many more of this kind as would swell a volume, I could enumerate to your Grace; but that they are so well known to your Grace, it would be a presumption in me, rather then a service, to give your Grace that trouble; and therefore I humbly forbear,*

*and proceed, according to my intention, to give your Grace a faithful account of your Grace's commands, as becomes*

May it please your Grace,
Your Graces most humble,
and most obedient servant,
*John Rolleston.*

# THE LIFE OF THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE, WILLIAM DUKE OF NEWCASTLE

## THE FIRST BOOK

SINCE my chief intent in this present work, is to describe the life and actions of My Noble Lord and Husband, William, Duke of Newcastle, I shall do it with as much brevity, perspicuity and truth, as is required of an impartial historian. The history of his pedigree I shall refer to the heralds, and partly give you an account thereof at the latter end of this work; onely thus much I shall now mention, as will be requisite for the better understanding of the following discourse.

His grandfather by his father's side was Sir William Cavendish, Privy Counsellour and Treasurer of the Chamber to King Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, and Queen Mary. His grandfather by his mother was Cuthbert Lord Ogle, an ancient baron. His father Sir Charles Cavendish was the youngest son to Sir William, and had no other children but three sons, whereof My Lord was the second; but his elder brother dying in his infancy, left both his title and birthright to My Lord, so that My Lord had then but one onely brother left, whose name was Charles after his father, whereas My Lord had the name of his grandfather.

These two brothers were partly bred with Gilbert

Earl of Shrewsbury their uncle in law, and their aunt Mary, Countess of Shrewsbury, Gilbert's wife, and sister to their father, for there interceded an intire and constant friendship between the said Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury, and My Lord's father, Sir Charles Cavendish, caused not onely by the marriage of My Lord's aunt, his father's sister, to the aforesaid Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury, and by the marriage of George, Earl of Shrewsbury, Gilbert's father, with My Lord's grandmother, by his father's side; but Sir Charles Cavendish, My Lord's father, and Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury, being brought up and bred together in one family, and grown up as parts of one body, after they came to be beyond children, and travelled together into foreign countries, to observe the fashions, laws, and customs of other nations, contracted such an intire friendship which lasted to their death: neither did they out-live each other long, for My Lord's father, Sir Charles Cavendish, lived but one year after Gilbert Earl of Shrewsbury.

But both My Lord's parents, and his aunt and uncle in law, shewed always a great and fond love to My Lord, endeavouring, when he was but a child, to please him with what he most delighted in. When he was grown to the age of fifteen or sixteen, he was made Knight of the Bath, an ancient and honourable Order, at the time when Henry, King James, of blessed memory, his eldest son, was created Prince of Wales: and soon after he went to travel with Sir Henry Wotton, who was sent as Ambassador Extraordinary to the then Duke of Savoy; which Duke made very much of My Lord, and when he would be free in feasting, placed him next to himself. Before My Lord did return with the Ambassador into England, the said Duke profered My Lord, that if

he would stay with him, he would not onely confer upon him the best titles of honour he could, but also give him an honourable command in war, although My Lord was but young, for the Duke had then some designs of war. But the Ambassador, who had taken the care of My Lord, would not leave him behind without his parent's consent.

At last, when My Lord took his leave of the Duke, the Duke being a very generous person, presented him with a Spanish horse, a saddle very richly embroidered, and with a rich jewel of diamonds.

Some time after My Lord's return into England, Gilbert Earl of Shrewsbury died, and left My Lord, though he was then but young, and about twenty-two years of age, his executor; a year after, his father, Sir Charles Cavendish, died also. His mother, being then a widow, was desirous that My Lord should marry: in obedience to whose commands, he chose a wife both to his own good liking, and his mother's approving; who was daughter and heir to William Basset of Blore, Esq.; a very honourable and ancient family in Staffordshire, by whom was added a great part to his estate, as hereafter shall be mentioned. After My Lord was married, he lived, for the most part, in the country, and pleased himself and his neighbours with hospitality, and such delights as the country afforded; onely now and then he would go up to London for some short time to wait on the King.

About this time King James, of blessed memory, having a purpose to confer some honour upon My Lord, made him Viscount Mansfield, and Baron of Bolsover; and after the decease of King James, King Charles the First, of blessed memory, constituted him Lord Warden of the Forrest of Sherewood, and

Lieutenant of Nottinghamshire, and restored his mother Catharine, the second daughter of Cuthbert Lord Ogle, to her father's dignity, after the death of her onely sister Jane Countess of Shrewsbury, publickly declaring that it was her right; which title, after the death of his mother, descended also upon My Lord, and his heirs general, together with a large inheritance of 3000*l.* a year, in Northumberland.

About the same time, after the decease of William, late Earl of Devonshire, his noble cousin german, My Lord was by his said Majesty made Lord Lieutenant of Derbyshire; which trust and honour, after he had enjoyed for several years, and managed it, like as all other offices put to his trust, with all possible care, faithfulness and dexterity, during the time of the said earl's son William, the now Earl of Devonshire, his minority, as soon as this same earl was come to age, and by law made capable of that trust, he willingly and freely resigned it into his hands, he having hitherto kept it onely for him, that he and no body else might succeed his father in that dignity.

In these, and all other both publick and private imployments, My Lord hath ever been careful to keep up the King's rights to the uttermost of his power, to strengthen those mentioned counties with ammunition, and to administer justice to every one; for he refused no man's petition, but sent all that came to him, either for relief or justice, away from him fully satisfied.

Not long after his being made Lieutenant of Nottinghamshire, there was found so great a defect of armes and ammunition in that county, that the Lords of the Council being advertised thereof, as the manner then was, His Majesty commanded a levy to be made upon the whole county for the supply thereof;

whereupon the sum of 500*l.* or thereabout, was accordingly levied for that purpose, and three persons of quality, then deputy lieutenants, were desired by My Lord to receive the money, and see it disposed; which being done accordingly, and a certain account rendered to My Lord, he voluntarily ordered the then Clerk of the Peace of that county, that the same account should be recorded amongst the sessions roles, and be published in open sessions, to the end that the country might take notice how their monies were disposed of, for which act of justice My Lord was highly commended.

Within some few years after, King Charles the First, of blessed memory, his Gracious Soveraign, in regard to his true and faithful service to his King and country, was pleased to honour him with the title of Earl of Newcastle, and Baron of Bothal and Heple; which title he graced so much by his noble actions and deportments, that some seven years after, which was in the year 1638, His Majesty called him up to Court, and thought him the fittest person whom he might intrust with the government of his son Charles, then Prince of Wales, now our most Gracious King, and made him withal a member of the Lords of His Majesties most honourable Privy Council; which, as it was a great honour and trust, so he spared no care and industry to discharge his duty accordingly; and to that end, left all the care of governing his own family and estate, with all fidelity attending his master not without considerable charges, and vast expences of his own.

In this present employment he continued for the space of three years, during which time there happened an insurrection and rebellion of His Majesties discontented subjects in Scotland, which

forced His Majesty to raise an army, to reduce them to their obedience, and his Treasury being at that time exhausted he was necessitated to desire some supply and assistance of the noblest and richest of his loyal subjects; amongst the rest, My Lord lent His Majesty 10,000*l.* and raised himself a voluntier-troop of horse, which consisted of 120 knights and gentlemen of quality, who marched to Berwick by His Majesties command, where it pleased His Majesty to set this mark of honour upon that troop, that it should be independent, and not commanded by any general officer, but onely by His Majesty himself; the reason thereof was upon this following occasion.

His Majesties whole body of horse, being commanded to march into Scotland against the rebels, a place was appointed for their rendezvous; immediately upon their meeting, My Lord sent a gentleman of quality of his troop to His Majesties then General of the Horse, to know where his troop should march; who returned this answer, That it was to march next after the troops of the general officers of the field. My Lord conceiving that his troop ought to march in the van, and not in the rear, sent the same messenger back again to the General, to inform him, that he had the honour to march with the Prince's colours, and therefore he thought it not fit to march under any of the officers of the field; yet nevertheless the General ordered that troop as he had formerly directed. Whereupon, My Lord thinking it unfit at that time to dispute the business, immediately commanded his cornet to take off the Princes colour's from his staff, and so marched in the place appointed, choosing rather to march without his colours flying, then to lessen his master's dignity by the command of any subject.

Immediately after the return from that expedition to His Majesties leaguer, the General made a complaint thereof to His Majesty; who being truly informed of the business, commended My Lord's discretion for it, and from that time ordered that troop to be commanded by none but himself. Thus they remained upon duty, *without receiving any payment or allowance from His Majesty*, until His Majesty had reduced his rebellious subjects, and then My Lord returned with honour to his charge, viz. the government of the Prince.

At last when the whole army was disbanded, then, and not before, My Lord thought it a fit time to exact an account from the said General for the affront he passed upon him, and sent him a challenge; the place and hour being appointed by both their consents, where and when to meet, My Lord appeared there with his second, but found not his opposite: after some while his opposite's second came all alone, by whom My Lord perceived that their design had been discovered to the King by some of his opposite's friends, who presently caused them both to be confined until he had made their peace.

My Lord having hitherto attended the Prince, his master, with all faithfulness and duty befitting so great an employment, for the space of three years, in the beginning of that rebellious and unhappy Parliament which was the cause of all the ruines and misfortunes that afterwards befell this kingdom, was privately advertised, that the Parliament's design was to take the government of the Prince from him, which he apprehending as a disgrace to himself, wisely prevented, and obtained the consent of His late Majesty, with his favour, to deliver up the charge of being governor to the Prince, and retire

into the countrey; which he did in the beginning of the year 1641, and setled himself, with his lady, children and family, to his great satisfaction, with an intent to have continued there, and rested under his own vine, and managed his own estate; but he had not enjoyed himself long, but an express came to him from His Majesty, who was then unjustly and unmannerly treated by the said Parliament, to repair with all possible speed and privacy to Kingston upon Hull, where the greatest part of His Majesties ammunition and arms then remained in that magazine, it being the most considerable place for strength in the northern parts of the kingdom.

Immediately upon the receipt of these His Majesties orders and commands, My Lord prepared for their execution, and about twelve of the clock at night, hastened from his own house when his familie were all at their rest, save two or three servants which he appointed to attend him. The next day early in the morning he arrived at Hull, in the quality of a private gentleman, which place was distant from his house forty miles; and none of his family that were at home, knew what was become of him, till he sent an express to his lady to inform her where he was.

Thus being admitted into the town, he fell upon his intended design, and brought it to so hopeful an issue for His Majesties service, that he wanted nothing but His Majesties further commission and pleasure to have secured both the town and magazine for His Majesties use: and to that end by a speedy express gave His Majesty, who was then at Windsor, an account of all his transactions therein, together with his opinion of them, hoping His Majesty would have been pleased either to come thither in person, which

he might have done with much security, or at least have sent him a commission and orders how he should do His Majesty further service.

But instead thereof he received orders from His Majesty to observe such directions as he should receive from the Parliament then sitting: whereupon he was summoned personally to appear at the House of Lords, and a committee chosen to examine the grounds and reasons of his undertaking that design; but My Lord shewed them his commission, and that it was done in obedience to His Majesties commands, and so was cleared of that action.

Not long after, My Lord obtained the freedom from His Majesty to retire again to his countrey life, which he did with much alacrity: He had not remained many months there, but His Majesty was forced by the fury of the said Parliament, to repair in person to York, and to send the Queen beyond the seas for her safety.

No sooner was His Majesty arrived at York but he sent his commands to My Lord to come thither to him; which, according to his wonted custom and loyalty, he readily obeyed, and after a few days spent there in consultation, His Majesty was pleased to command him to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, to take upon him the government of that town, and the four counties next adjoining; that is to say, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmerland, and the Bishoprick of Durham; which My Lord did accordingly, although he wanted men, money and ammunition, for the performance of that design; for when he came thither he neither found any military provision considerable for the undertaking that work, nor generally any great encouragement from the people in those parts more then what his own interest created in them;

Nevertheless, he thought it his duty rather to hazard all, then to neglect the commands of his soveraign; and resolved to shew his fidelity, by nobly setting all at stake, as he did, though he well knew how to have secured himself, as too many others did, either by neutrality or adhering to the rebellious party; but his honour and loyalty was too great to be stained with such foul adherencies.

As soon as My Lord came to Newcastle, in the first place he sent for all his tenants and friends in those parts, and presently raised a troop of horse consisting of 120, and a regiment of foot, and put them under command, and upon duty and exercise in the town of Newcastle; and with this small beginning took the government of that place upon him; where with the assistance of the townsmen, particularly the mayor (whom by the power of his forces, he continued mayor for the year following, he being a person of much trust and fidelity, as he approved himself) and the rest of his brethren, within few days he fortified the town, and raised men daily, and put a garrison of soldiers into Tinmouth-Castle, standing upon the River Tyne, betwixt Newcastle and the sea, to secure that port, and armed the soldiers as well as he could: and thus he stood upon his guard, and continued them upon duty; playing his weak game with much prudence, and giving the town and country very great satisfaction by his noble and honourable deportment.

In the mean time, there happened a great mutiny of the trainband soldiers of the bishoprick at Durham, so that My Lord was forced to remove thither in person, attended with some forces to appease them; where at his arrival (I mention it by the way, and as a merry passage) a jovial fellow used this

expression, that he liked My Lord very well, but not his company (meaning his soldiers).

After My Lord had reduced them to their obedience and duty, he took great care of the church government in the said bishoprick (as he did no less in all other places committed to his care and protection, well knowing that schism and faction in religion is the mother of all or most rebellions, wars and disturbances in a state or government) and constituted that learned and eminent divine the then Dean of Peterborough, now Lord-bishop of Durham, to view all sermons that were to be preached, and suffer nothing in them that in the least reflected against His Majesties person and government, but to put forth and add whatsoever he thought convenient, and punish those that should trespass against it. In which that worthy person used so much care and industry, that never the Church could be more happily governed than it was at that present.

Some short time after, My Lord received from Her Majesty the Queen, out of Holland, a small supply of money, viz. a little barrel of ducatoons, which amounted to about 500*l.* sterling; which My Lord distributed amongst the officers of his new raised army, to encourage them the better in their service; as also some armes, the most part whereof were consigned to His late Majesty; and those that were ordered to be conveyed to His Majesty, were sent accordingly, conducted by that onely troop of horse, which My Lord had newly raised, with orders to return again to him; but it seems His Majesty liked the troop so well, that he was pleased to command their stay to recruit his own army.

About the same time the King of Denmark was likewise pleased to send His Majesty a ship, which

arrived at Newcastle, laden with some ammunition, armes, regiment pieces, and Danish clubs; which My Lord kept for the furnishing of some forces which he intended to raise for His Majesties service; for he perceiving the flames increase more and more in both Houses of Parliament, then sitting at Westminster, against His Majesties person and government; upon consultation with his friends and allies, and the interest he had in those northern parts, took a resolution to raise an army for His Majesties service, and by an express acquainted His Majesty with his design; who was so well pleased with it, that he sent him commissions for that purpose, to constitute him general of all the forces raised and to be raised in all the parts of the kingdom, Trent-North, and moreover in the several counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Lancashire, Cheshire, Leicester, Rutland, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, and commander in chief for the same; as also to impower and authorize him to confer the honour of knighthood upon such persons as he should conceive deserved it, and to coin money and print whensoever he saw occasion for it. Which as it was not onely a great honour, but a great trust and power; so he used it with much discretion and wisdom, onely in such occurrencies, where he found it tending to the advancement of His Majesties service, and conferred the honour of knighthood sparingly, and but on such persons whose valiant and loyal actions did justly deserve it, so that he knighted in all to the number of twelve.

Within a short time, My Lord formed an army of 8000 foot, horse and dragoons, and put them into a condition to march in the beginning of November, 1642. No sooner was this effected, but the insurrec-

tion grew high in Yorkshire. in so much, that most of His Majesties good subjects of that county, as well the nobility as gentry, were forced for the preservation of their persons, to retire to the city of York, a walled town, but of no great strength; and hearing that My Lord had not onely kept those counties in the northern parts generally faithful to His Majesty, but raised an army for His Majesties interest and the protection of his good subjects; thought it convenient to employ and authorise some persons of quality to attend upon My Lord, and treat with him on their behalf, that he would be pleased to give them the assistance of his army, which My Lord granted them upon such terms as did highly advance His Majesties service, which was My Lord's chief and onely aim.

Thus My Lord being with his army invited into Yorkshire, he prepared for it with all the speed that the nature of that business could possibly permit; and after he had fortified the Town of Newcastle, Tynmouthcastle, Hartlepool (a haven town) and some other necessary garisons in those parts, and manned, victualled and ordered their constant supply, he thought it fit in the first place, before he did march, to manifest to the world by a declaration in print, the reasons and grounds of his undertaking that design; which were in general, for the preservation of His Majesties person and government, and the defence of the orthodox Church of England; where he also satisfied those that murmured for My Lord's receiving into his army such as were of the Catholick religion, and then he presently marched with his army into Yorkshire to their assistance, and within the time agreed upon, came to York, notwithstanding the enemies forces gave him all the interruption they

possibly could, at several passes; whereof the chief was at Piercebridge, at the entering into Yorkshire, where 1500 of the enemies forces, commanded in chief by Col. Hotham, were ready to interrupt My Lord's forces, sent thither to secure that passe, consisting of a regiment of dragoons, commanded by Colonel Thomas Howard, and a regiment of foot, commanded by Sir William Lambton, which they performed with so much courage, that they routed the enemy, and put them to flight, although the said Col. Howard in that charge lost his life by an unfortunate shot.

The enemy thus missing of their design, fled until they met with a conjunction of their whole forces at Tadcaster, some eight miles distant from York, and My Lord went on without any other considerable interruption. Being come to York, he drew up his whole army before the town, both horse and foot, where the Commander-in-Chief, the then Earl of Cumberland, together with the gentry of the country, came to wait on My Lord, and the then Governor of York, Sir Thomas Glemham, presented him with the keys of the city.

Thus My Lord marched into the town with great joy, and to the general satisfaction both of the nobility and gentry, and most of the citizens; and immediately without any delay, in the later end of December 1642, fell upon consultations how he might best proceed to serve his king and country; and particularly, how his army should be maintained and paid (as he did also afterwards in every country wheresoever he marched), well knowing that no army can be governed without being constantly and regularly supported by provision and pay. Whereupon it was agreed, that the nobility and

gentry of the several counties, should select a certain number of themselves to raise money by a regular tax, for the making provisions for the support and maintenance of the army, rather than to leave them to free-quarter, and to carve for themselves; and if any of the soldiers were exorbitant and disorderly, and that it did appear so to those that were authorised to examine their deportment, that presently order should be given to repair those injuries out of the moneys levied for the soldiery; by which means the country was preserved from many inconveniences, which otherwise would doubtless have followed.

And though the season of the year might well have invited My Lord to take up his winter-quarters, it being about Christmas; yet after he had put a good garison into the city of York, and fortified it, upon intelligence that the enemy was still at Tadcaster, and had fortified the place, he resolved to march thither. The greatest part of the town stands on the west side of a river not fordable in any place near thereabout, nor allowing any passage into the town from York, but over a stone-bridge, which the enemy had made impassable by breaking down part of the bridge, and planting their ordnance upon it, and by raising a very large and strong fort upon the top of a hill, leading eastward from that bridge towards York, upon design of commanding the bridge and all other places fit to draw up an army in, or to plant cannon against them.

But notwithstanding all these discouragements, My Lord after he had refreshed his army at York, and recruited his provisions, ordered a march before the said town in this manner: That the greatest part of his horse and dragoons should in the night march to a pass at Weatherby, five miles distant from

Tadcaster, towards north-west, from thence under the command of his then Lieutenant-General of the army, to appear on the west side of Tadcaster early the next morning, by which time My Lord with the rest of his army resolved to appear at the east-side of the said town; which intention was well designed, but ill executed; for though My Lord with that part of the army which he commanded in person, that is to say, his foot and cannon, attended by some troops of horse, did march that night, and early in the morning appeared before the town on the east side therof, and there drew up his army, planted his cannon, and closely and orderly besieged that side of the town, and from ten in the morning till four a clock in the afternoon, battered the enemies forts and works, as being in continual expectation of the appearance of the troops on the other side, according to his order; yet (whether it was out of neglect or treachery that My Lord's orders were not obeyed) that day's work was rendered ineffectual as to the whole design.

However the vigilancy of My Lord did put the enemy into such a terror, that they forsook that fort, and secretly fled away with all their train that very night to another strong hold not far distant from Tadcaster, called Cawood-Castle, to which, by reason of its low and boggy scituation, and foul and narrow lanes and passages, it was not possible for My Lord to pursue them without too great an hazard to his army; whereas had the Lieutenant-General performed his duty, in all probability the greatest part of the principal rebels in Yorskhire would that day have been taken in their own trap, and their further mischief prevented. My Lord, the next morning, instead of storming the town (as he had intended)

entered without interruption, and there stayed some few days to refresh his army, and order that part of the country.

In December, 1642, My Lord thought it fit to march to Pomfret, and to quarter his army in that part of the country which was betwixt Cawood and some garisons of the enemy, in the west part of Yorkshire, viz. Hallifax, Bradford, Leeds, Wakefield, etc., where he remained some time to recruit and enlarge his army, which was much lessened by erecting of garisons, and to keep those parts in order and obedience to His Majesty; And after he had thus ordered his affairs, he was enabled to give protection to those parts of the country that were most willing to embrace it, and quartered his army for a time in such places which he had reduced. Tadcaster which stood upon a pass, he made a garison or rather a strong quarter, and put also a garison into Pomfret Castle, not above eight miles distant from Tadcaster, which commanded that town, and a great part of the country.

During the time that his army remained at Pomfret, My Lord setled a garison at Newark in Nottinghamshire, standing upon the River Trent, a very considerable pass, which kept the greatest part of Nottinghamshire, and part of Lincolnshire, in obedience; and after that he returned, in the beginning of January, 1642, back to York, with an intention to supply himself with some ammunition, which he had ordered to be brought from Newcastle: A convoy of horse that were imployed to conduct it from thence, under the command of the Lieutenant-General of the army, the Lord Ethyn, was by the enemy at a pass, called Yarumbridge, in Yorkshire, fiercely encountered; in which encounter My Lord's forces totally routed them, slew many, and took many prisoners, and most

of their horse colours, consisting of seventeen cornets; and so marched on to York with their ammunition, without any other interruption.

My Lord, after he had received this ammunition, put his army into a condition to march, and having intelligence that the Queen was at sea, with intention to land in some part of the east riding of Yorkshire, he directed his march in February, 1642, into those parts, to be ready to attend Her Majesties landing, who was then daily expected from Holland. Within a short time, after it had pleased God to protect Her Majesty both from the fury of wind and waves, there being for several days such a tempest at sea that Her Majesty, with all her attendance, was in danger to be cast away every minute; as also from the fury of the rebels which had the whole naval power of the kingdom then in their hands, she arrived safely at a small port in the east riding of Yorkshire called Burlington Key, where Her Majesty was no sooner landed, but the enemy at sea made continual shot against her ships in the port, which reached not onely Her Majesties landing, but even the house where she lay (though without the least hurt to any), so that she herself, and her attendants, were forced to leave the same, and to seek protection from a hill near that place, under which they retired; and all that while it was observed that Her Majesty showed as much courage as ever any person could do; for her undaunted and generous spirit was like her royal birth, deriving it self from that unparrallell'd King, her father, whose heroic actions will be in perpetual memory whilest the world hath a being.

My Lord finding Her Majesty in this condition, drew his army near the place where she was, ready to attend and protect Her Majesties person, who was

pleased to take a view of the army as it was drawn up in order; and immediately after, which was in March, 1643, took her journey towards York, whither the whole army conducted Her Majesty, and brought her safe into the city. About this time, Her Majesty having some present occasion for money, My Lord presented her with 3000*l.* sterling, which she graciously accepted of, and having spent some time there in consultation about the present affairs, she was pleased to send some armes and ammunition to the King, who was then in Oxford; to which end, My Lord ordered a party, consisting of 1500, well commanded, to conduct the same, with whom the Lord Percy, who then had waited upon Her Majesty from the King, returned to Oxford; which party His Majesty was pleased to keep with him for his own service.

Not long after, My Lord, who always endeavoured to win any place or persons by fair means, rather then by using of force, reduced to His Majesties obedience a strong fort and castle upon the sea and a very good haven, called Scarborough Castle, perswading the Governour therof, who heretofore had opposed his forces at Yarum-bridge, with such rational and convincible arguments, that he willingly rendered himself, and all the garison, unto His Majesties devotion; by which prudent action My Lord highly advanced His Majesties interest; for by that means the enemy was much annoyed and prejudiced at sea, and a great part in the east riding of Yorkshire kept in due obedience.

After this, My Lord having received intelligence that the enemies General of the Horse had designed to march with a party from Cawood Castle, whither they were fled from Tadcaster, as before is mentioned

to some garisons which they had in the west of Yorkshire; presently ordered a party of horse, commanded by the General of the Horse, the Lord George Goring, to attend the enemy in their march, who overtook them on a moor, called Seacroft Moor, and fell upon their rear, which caused the enemy to draw up their forces into a body; to whom they gave a total rout (although their number was much greater) and took about 800 prisoners, and 10 or 12 colours of horse, besides many that were slain in the charge; which prisoners were brought to York, about 10 or 12 miles distant from that same place.

Immediately after, in pursuit of that victory, My Lord sent a considerable party into the west of Yorkshire, where they met with about 2000 of the enemies forces, taken out of their several garisons in those parts, to execute some design upon a moor called Tankerly Moor, and there fought them, and routed them; many were slain, and some taken prisoners.

Not long after the remainder of the army that were left at York, marched to Leeds, in the west of Yorkshire, and from thence to Wakefield, being both the enemies quarters, to reduce and settle that part of the country; My Lord having possessed himself of the town of Wakefield, it being large, and of great compass, and able to make a strong quarter, ordered it accordingly; and receiving intelligence that in two market-towns south-west from Wakefield, viz. Rotherham and Sheffield, the enemy was very busie to raise forces against His Majesty, and had fortified them both about four miles distant from each other, hoping thereby to give protection and encouragement to all those parts of the country which were populous, rich and rebellious, he thought it necessary to use

his best endeavours to blast those their wicked designs in the bud; and thereupon took a resolution in April 1643, to march with part of his army from Wakefield into the mentioned parts, attended with a convenient train of artillery and ammunition, leaving the greatest part of it at Wakefield with the remainder of his army, under the care and conduct of his General of the Horse, and Major-General of the army, which was so considerable, both in respect of their number and provision, that they did, as they might well, conceive themselves master of the field in those parts, and secure in that quarter, although in the end it proved not so, as shall hereafter be declared, which must necessarily be imputed to their invigilancy and carelessness.

My Lord first marched to Rotherham, and finding that the enemy had placed a garison of soldiers in that town, and fortified it, he drew up his army in the morning against the town, and summoned it; but they refusing to yield, My Lord fell to work with his cannon and musket, and within a short time took it by storm, and entered the town that very night; some enemies of note that were found therein, were taken prisoners; and as for the common soldiers, which were by the enemy forced from their allegiance, he shewed such clemency to them, that very many willingly took up arms for his Majesties service, and proved very faithful and loyal subjects, and good soldiers.

After My Lord had stayed two or three dayes there, and ordered those parts, he marched with his army to Sheffield, another market-town of large extent, in which there was an ancient castle; which when the enemies forces that kept the town came to hear of, being terrified with the fame of My Lord's hitherto

victorious army, they fled away from thence into Derbyshire, and left both town and castle (without any blow) to My Lord's mercy; and though the people in the town were most of them rebelliously affected, yet My Lord so prudently ordered the business, that within a short time he reduced most of them to their allegiance by love, and the rest by fear, and recruited his army daily; he put a garison of soldiers into the castle, and fortified it in all respects, and constituted a gentleman of quality Governour both of the castle, town and country; and finding near that place some iron works, he gave present order for the casting of iron cannon for his garisons, and for the making of other instruments and engines of war.

Within a short time after, my Lord receiving intelligence that the enemy in the garisons near Wakefield had united themselves, and being drawn into a body in the night time, had surprised and entered the town of Wakefield, and taken all or most of the officers and soldiers, left there, prisoners (amongst whom was also the general of the horse, the Lord Goring, whom My Lord afterwards redeemed by exchange) and possessed themselves of the whole magazine, which was a very great loss and hinderance to My Lord's designs, it being the moity of his army, and most of his ammunition, he fell upon new counsels and resolved without any delay to march from thence back towards York, which was in May 1643, where after he had rested some time, Her Majesty being resolved to take her journey towards the southern parts of the kingdom, where the King was, designed first to go from York to Pomfret, whither My Lord ordered the whole marching army to be in readiness to conduct Her Majesty, which they did, he himself attending Her Majesty in person. And after Her

Majesty had rested there some small time, she being desirous to proceed in her intended journey, no less then a formed army was able to secure her person: Wherefore My Lord was resolved out of his fidelity and duty to supply her with an army of 7000 horse and foot, besides a convenient train of artillery, for her safer conduct; chusing rather to leave himself in a weak condition (though he was even then very near the enemies garisons in that part of the country) then suffer Her Majesties person to be exposed to danger. Which army of 7000 men, when Her Majesty was safely arrived to the King, he was pleased to keep with him for his own service.

After Her Majesties departure out of Yorkshire, My Lord was forced to recruit again his army, and within a short time, viz. in June, 1643, took a resolution to march into the enemies quarters, in the western parts; in which march he met with a strong stone house well fortified, called Howley House, wherein was a garison of soldiers, which My Lord summoned; but the governour disobeying the summons, he battered it with his cannon, and so took it by force; the governour having quarter given him contrary to My Lord's orders, was brought before My Lord by a person of quality, for which the officer that brought him received a check; and though he resolved then to kill him, yet My Lord would not suffer him to do it, saying, It was inhumane to kill any man in cold blood. Hereupon the governour kissed the key of the house door, and presented it to My Lord; to which My Lord returned this answer: *I need it not*, said he, *for I brought a key along with me, which yet I was unwilling to use, until you forced me to it.*

At this house My Lord remained five or six days,

till he had refreshed his soldiers; and then a resolution was taken to march against a garison of the enemies called Bradford, a little but a strong town; in the way he met with a strong interruption by the enemy drawing forth a vast number of musquetiers, which they had very privately gotten out of Lancashire, the next adjoining county to those parts of Yorkshire, which had so easie an access to them at Bradford, by reason the whole country was of their party, that My Lord could not possibly have any constant intelligence of their designs and motions; for in their army there were near 5000 musquetiers, and 18 troops of horse, drawn up in a place full of hedges, called Atherton-moor, near to their garison at Bradford, ready to encounter My Lord's forces, which then contained not above half so many musquetiers as the enemy had; their chiefest strength consisting in horse, and these made useless for a long time together by the enemies horse possessing all the plain ground upon that field; so that no place was left to draw up My Lord's horse, but amongst old coalpits: neither could they charge the enemy, by reason of a great ditch and high bank betwixt My Lord's and the enemies troops, but by two on a breast, and that within musquet shot; the enemy being drawn up in hedges, and continually playing upon them, which rendered the service exceeding difficult and hazardous.

In the mean while the foot of both sides on the right and left wings encountered each other, who fought from hedge to hedge, and for a long time together overpowered and got ground of My Lord's foot, almost to the invironing of his cannon; My Lord's horse (wherein consisted his greatest strength) all this while being made, by reason of the ground,

incapable of charging; at last the pikes of My Lord's army having had no employment all the day, were drawn against the enemies left wing, and particularly those of My Lord's own regiment, which were all stout and valiant men, who fell so furiously upon the enemy, that they forsook their hedges, and fell to their heels: at which very instant My Lord caused a shot or two to be made by his cannon against the body of the enemies horse, drawn up within cannon shot, which took so good effect, that it disordered the enemies troops; hereupon My Lord's horse got over the hedge, not in a body (for that they could not), but dispersedly two on a breast; and as soon as some considerable number was gotten over, and drawn up, they charged the enemy, and routed them; so that in an instant there was a strange change of fortune, and the field totally won by My Lord, notwithstanding he had quitted 7000 men, to conduct Her Majesty, besides a good train of artillery, which in such a conjuncture would have weakened Cæsar's army. In this victory the enemy lost most of their foot, about 3000 were taken prisoners, and 700 horse and foot slain, and those that escaped fled into their garison at Bradford, amongst whom was also their general of the horse, Sir Thos. Fairfax.

After this My Lord caused his army to be rallied, and marched in order that night before Bradford, with an intention to storm it the next morning; but the enemy that were in the town, it seems, were so discomfited, that the same night they escaped all various ways, and amongst them the said general of the horse, whose lady being behind a servant on horseback, was taken by some of My Lord's soldiers, and brought to his quarters, where she was treated and attended with all civility and respect, and within

few days sent to York in My Lord's own coach, and from thence very shortly after to Kingstone upon Hull, where she desired to be, attended by My Lord's coach and servants.

Thus My Lord, after the enemy was gone, entered the town and garison of Bradford, by which victory the enemy was so daunted, that they forsook the rest of their garisons, that is to say, Hallifax, Leeds and Wakefield, and dispersed themselves severally, the chief officers retiring to Hull, a strong garison of the enemy; and though My Lord, knowing they would make their escape thither, as having no other place of refuge to resort to, sent a letter to York to the Governour of that city, to stop them in their passage; yet by neglect of the post, it coming not timely enough to his hands, his design was frustrated.

The whole county of York, save onely Hull, being now cleared and setled by My Lord's care and conduct, he marched to the city of York, and having a competent number of horse well armed and commanded, he quartered them in the east riding, near Hull, there being no visible enemy then to oppose them: In the mean while My Lord receiving news that the enemy had made an invasion into the next adjoining county of Lincoln, where he had some forces, he presently dispatched his Lieutenant-General of the army away with some horse and dragoons, and soon after marched thither himself with the body of the army, being earnestly desired by His Majesties party there. The forces which My Lord had in the same county, commanded by the then Lieutenant-General of the Horse, Mr. Charles Cavendish, second brother to the now Earl of Devonshire, though they had timely notice, and orders from My Lord to make their retreat to the Lieutenant-General of the army,

and not to fight the enemy; yet the said Lieutenant-General of the Horse being transported by his courage (he being a person of great valour and conduct) and having charged the enemy, unfortunately lost the field, and himself was slain in the charge, his horse lighting in a bogg: which news being brought to My Lord when he was on his march, he made all the hast he could, and was no sooner joined with his Lieutenant-General, but fell upon the enemy, and put them to flight.

The first garison My Lord took in Lincolnshire was Gainsborrough, a town standing upon the River Trent, wherein (not long before) had been a garison of soldiers for His Majesty, under the command of the then Earl of Kingstone, but surprised, and the town taken by the enemies forces, who having an intention to conveigh the said Earl of Kingstone from thence to Hull in a little pinnace, met with some of My Lord's forces by the way commanded by the Lieutenant of the army, who being desirous to rescue the Earl of Kingstone, and making some shots with their regiment pieces, to stop the pinnace, unfortunately slew him and one of his servants.

My Lord drawing near the mentioned town of Gainsborrough, there appeared on the top of a hill above the town, some of the enemies horse drawn up in a body; whereupon he immediately sent a party of his horse to view them; who no sooner came within their sight, but they retreated fairly so long as they could well endure; but the pursuit of My Lord's horse caused them presently to break their ranks, and fall to their heels, where most of them escaped, and fled to Lincoln, another of their garisons. Hereupon My Lord summoned the town of Gainsborrough; but the Governour thereof refusing to yield,

caused My Lord to plant his cannon, and draw up his army on the mentioned hill; and having played some little while upon the town, put the enemy into such a terror, that the Governour sent out, and offered the surrender of the town upon fair terms, which My Lord thought fit rather to embrace, then take it by force; and though according to the articles of agreement made between them, both the enemies arms and the keys of the town should have been fairly delivered to My Lord; yet it being not performed as it was expected, the arms being in a confused manner thrown down, and the gates set wide open, the prisoners that had been kept in the town began first to plunder; which My Lord's forces seeing, did the same, although it was against My Lord's will and orders.

After My Lord had thus reduced the town, and put a good garison of soldiers into it, and better fortified it, he marched before Lincoln, and there he entered with his army without great difficulty, and placed also a garison in it, and raised a considerable army, both horse, foot, and dragoons, for the preservation of that county, and put them under commanders, and constituted a person of honour Commander-in-Chief, with intention to march towards the south, which if it had taken effect, would doubtless have made an end of that war; but he being daily importuned by the nobility and gentry of Yorkshire, to return into that county, especially upon the perswasions of the Commander-in-Chief of the forces left there, who acquainted My Lord that the enemy grew so strong every day, being got together in Kingstone upon Hull, and annoying that country, that his forces were not able to bear up against them; alledging withall, that My Lord would be suspected to

betray the trust reposed in him, if he came not to succour and assist them; he went back with his army for the protection of that same country, and when he arrived there, which was in August, 1643, he found the enemy of so small consequence, that they did all flie before him. About this time His Majesty was pleased to honour My Lord for his true and faithful service, with the title of Marquess of Newcastle.

My Lord being returned into Yorkshire forced the enemy first from a town called Beverly, wherein they had a garison of soldiers; and from thence, upon the entreaty of the nobility and gentry of Yorkshire, (as before is mentioned) who promised him ten thousand men for that purpose, though they came short of their performance, marched near the town of Kingstone upon Hull, and besieged that part of the garison that bordered on Yorkshire, for a certain time; in which time the enemy took the courage to sally out of the town with a strong party of horse and foot very early in the morning, with purpose to have forced the quarters of a regiment of My Lord's horse, that were quartered next the town; but by the vigilancy of their commander, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, afterwards Lord Langdale, his forces being prepared for their reception, they received such a welcome as cost many of them their lives, most of their foot (but such as were slain) being taken prisoners; and those of their horse that escaped, got into their hold at Hull.

The enemy thus seeing that they could do My Lord's army no further damage on that side of the river in Yorkshire, endeavoured by all means (from Hull, and other confederate places in the Eastern parts of the kingdom) to form a considerable party to annoy and disturb the forces raised by My Lord in

Lincolnshire, and left there for the protection of that county; where the enemy being drawn together in a body, fought My Lord's forces in his absence, and got the honour of the day near Hornby Castle in that county; which loss, caused partly by their own rashness, forced My Lord to leave his design upon Hull, and to march back with his army to York, which was in October, 1643, where he remained but a few days to refresh his army, and receiving intelligence that the enemy was got into Derbyshire, and did grow numerous there, and busie in seducing the people, that country being under My Lord's command, he resolved to direct his march thither in the beginning of November, 1643, to suppress their further growth; and to that end quartered his army at Chesterfield, and in all the parts thereabout, for a certain time.

Immediately after his departure from York to Pomfret, in his said march into Derbyshire, the city of York sent to my Lord to inform him of their intention to chuse another mayor for the year following, desiring his pleasure about it: My Lord, who knew that the mayor for the year before, was a person of much loyalty and discretion, declared his mind to them, That he thought it fit to continue him mayor also for the year following; which it seems they did not like, but resolved to chuse one which they pleased, contrary to My Lord's desire. My Lord perceiving their intentions, about the time of the election, sent orders to the governour of the city of York, to permit such forces to enter into the city as he should send; which being done accordingly, they upon the day of the election repaired to the town-hall, and with their arms staid there until they had continued the said mayor according to my Lord's desire.

During the time of My Lord's stay at Chesterfield

in Derbyshire, he ordered some part of his army to march before a strong house and garison of the enemies, called Wingfield Mannor, which in a short time they took by storm. And when My Lord had raised in that county as many forces, horse and foot, as were supposed to be sufficient to preserve it from the fury of the enemy, he armed them, and constituted an honourable person Commander-in-Chief of all the forces of that county, and of Leicestershire; and so leaving it in that condition, marched in December 1643, from Chesterfield to Bolsover in the same county, and from thence to Welbeck in Nottinghamshire, to his own house and garison, in which parts he staid some time, both to refresh his army, and to settle and reform some disorders he found there, leaving no visible enemy behind him in Derbyshire, save onely an inconsiderable party in the town of Derby, which they had fortified, not worth the labour to reduce it.

About this time the report came, that a great army out of Scotland, was upon their march towards the northern parts of England, to assist the enemy against His Majesty, which forced the nobility and gentry of Yorkshire to invite My Lord back again into those parts, with promise to raise for his service an army of 10,000 men; My Lord (not upon this proffer, which had already heretofore deceived him, but out of his loyalty and duty to preserve those parts which were committed to his care and protection) returned in the middle of January 1643. And when he came there, he found not one man raised to assist him against so powerful an army, nor an intention of raising any; wherefore he was necessitated to raise himself, out of the countrey, what forces he could get, and when he had settled the affairs in Yorkshire as well as

time and his present condition would permit, and constituted an honourable person governour of York and Commander-in-Chief of a very considerable party of horse and foot for the defence of the county (for Sr. Thomas Glemham was then made colonel general, and marched into the field with the army) he took his march to Newcastle in the beginning of February 1643, to give a stop to the Scots army.

Presently after his coming thither with some of his troups, before his whole army was come up, he received intelligence of the Scots armie's near approach, whereupon he sent forth a party of horse to view them, who found them very strong, to the number of 22,000 horse and foot well armed and commanded: they marched up towards the town with such confidence, as if the gates had been opened for their reception; and the general of their army seemed to take no notice of My Lord's being in it, for which afterwards he excused himself; but as they drew near, they found not such entertainment as they expected; for though they assaulted a work that was not finished, yet they were beaten off with much loss.

The enemy being thus stopt before the town, thought fit to quarter near it, in that part of the country; and so soon as my Lord's army was come up, he designed one night to have fallen into their quarter; but by reason of some neglect of his orders in not giving timely notice to the party designed for it, it took not an effect answerable to his expectation. In a word, there were three designs taken against the enemy, whereof if one had but hit, they would doubtless have been lost; but there was so much treachery, jugling and falsehood in My Lord's own army, that it was impossible for him to be successful in his designs and undertakings. However, though it

failed in the enemies foot-quarters, which lay nearest the town; yet it took good effect in their horse-quarters, which were more remote; for My Lord's horse, commanded by a very gallant and worthy gentleman falling upon them, gave them such an alarm, that all they could do, was to draw into the field, where My Lord's forces charged them, and in a little time routed them totally, and killed and took many prisoners, to the number of 1500.

Upon this the enemy was forced to draw their whole army together, and to quarter them a little more remote from the town, and to seek out inaccessible places for their security, as afterwards appeared more plainly; for so soon as My Lord had prepared his army for a march, he drew them forth against the Scots, which he found quartered upon high hills close by the River Tyne, where they could not be encountered but upon very disadvantagious terms; besides, that day proved very stormy and tempestuous, so that My Lord was necessitated to withdraw his forces, and retire into his own quarters.

The next day after, the Scots army finding ill harbour in those quarters, marched from hill to hill into another part of the Bishoprick of Durham, near the sea coast, to a town called Sunderland; and thereupon My Lord thought fit to march to Durham, to stop their further progress, where he had contrived the business so, that they were either forced to fight or starve within a little time. The first was offered to them twice, that is to say, at Pensher-hills one day, and at Bowden-hills another day in the Bishoprick of Durham: but My Lord found them at both times drawn up in such places, as he could not possibly charge them; wherefore he retired again to Durham, with an intention to streighten their quarters, and to

wait upon them, if ever they left their holds and inaccessible places. In the mean time it happened that the Earl of Montross came to the same place, and having some design for his Majesties service in Scotland, desired My Lord to give him the assistance of some of his forces; and although My Lord stood then in present need of them, and could not conveniently spare any, having so great an army to oppose; yet out of a desire to advance His Majesties service as much as lay in his power, he was willing to part with 200 horse and dragoons to the said earl.

The Scots perceiving My Lord's vigilancy and care, contented themselves with their own quarters, which could not have served them long, but that a great misfortune befel My Lord's forces in Yorkshire; for the governour whom he had left behind with sufficient forces for the defence of that country, although he had orders not to encounter the enemy, but to keep himself in a defensive posture; yet he being a man of great valour and courage, it transported him so much that he resolved to face the enemy, and offering to keep a town that was not tenable, was utterly routed, and himself taken prisoner, although he fought most gallantly.

So soon as My Lord received this sad intelligence, he upon consultation, and upon very good grounds of reason, took a resolution not to stay between the two armies of the enemies, viz. the Scots and the English, that had prevailed in Yorkshire; but immediately to march into Yorkshire with his army, to preserve (if possible) the city of York out of the enemies hands: which retreat was ordered so well, and with such excellent conduct, that though the army of the Scots marched close upon their rear, and fought them every day of their retreat, yet they

gained several passes for their security, and entered safe and well into the city of York, in April 1643.

My Lord being now at York, and finding three armies against him, viz. the army of the Scots, the army of the English that gave the defeat to the governour of York, and an army that was raised out of associate counties, and but little ammunition and provision in the town; was forced to send his horse away to quarter in several counties, viz. Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, for their subsistence under the conduct of his Lieutenant-General of the Horse, my dear brother Sir Charles Lucas, himself remaining at York, with his foot and train for the defence of that city.

In the mean time, the enemy having closely besiedged the city on all sides, came to the very gates thereof, and pulled out the earth at one end, as those in the city put it in at the other end; they planted their great cannons against it, and threw in granadoes at pleasure: but those in the city made several sallies upon them with good success. At last, the general of the associate army of the enemy, having closely beleaguered the north side of the town, sprung a mine under the wall of the mannor yard, and blew part of it up; and having beaten back the town forces (although they behaved themselves very gallantly) entered the mannor-house with a great number of their men, which as soon as my Lord perceived, he went away in all haste, even to the amazement of all that were by, not knowing what he intended to do; and drew 80 of his own regiment of foot, called the white coats all stout and valiant men, to that post, who fought the enemy with that courage, that within a little time they killed and took 1500 of them; and My Lord gave present order to make up the breach

which they had made in the wall; whereupon the enemy remained without any other attempt in that kind, so long, till almost all provision for the support of the soldiery in the city was spent, which nevertheless was so well ordered by My Lord's prudence, that no famine or great extremity of want ensued.

My Lord having held out in that manner above two months, and withstood the strength of three armies; and seeing that his Lieutenant-General of the Horse whom he had sent for relief to His Majesty, could not so soon obtain it (although he used his best endeavour) for to gain yet some little time, began to treat with the enemy; ordering in the mean while, and upon the treaty, to double and treble his guards. At last after three months time from the beginning of the siege, His Majesty was pleased to send an army, which joining with My Lord's horse that were sent to quarter in the aforesaid countreys, came to relieve the city under the conduct of the most gallant and heroick Prince Rupert, his nephew; upon whose approach near York, the enemy drew from before the city, into an entire body, and marched away on the west-side of the River Owse, that runs through the city, His Majesties forces being then of the east-side of that river.

My Lord immediately sent some persons of quality to attend His Highness, and to invite him into the city to consult with him about that important affair, and to gain so much time as to open a port to march forth with his cannon and foot which were in the town, to join with His Highness's forces; and went himself the next day in person to wait on His Highness; where after some conferences, he declared his mind to the Prince, desiring His Highness not to attempt any thing as yet upon the enemy; for he had intelli-

gence that there was some discontent between them, and that they were resolved to divide themselves, and so to raise the siege, without fighting: besides, My Lord expected within two dayes, Collonel Cleavering, with above three thousand men out of the north, and two thousand drawn out of several garisons, (who also came at the same time, though it was then too late). But His Highness answered My Lord, that he had a letter from His Majesty (then at Oxford) with a positive and absolute command to fight the enemy; which in obedience, and according to his duty he was bound to perform. Whereupon My Lord replied, that he was ready and willing for his part, to obey His Highness in all things, no otherwise then if His Majesty was there in person himself; and though several of My Lord's friends advised him not to engage in battel, because the command (as they said) was taken from him: yet My Lord answered them, that happen what would, he would not shun to fight, for he had no other ambition but to live and dye a loyal subject to His Majesty.

Then the Prince and My Lord conferred with several of their officers, amongst whom there were several disputes concerning the advantages which the enemy had of sun, wind and ground. The horse of His Majesties forces was drawn up in both wings upon that fatal moor called Hessom-Moor; and My Lord asked His Highness what service he would be pleased to command him; who returned this answer, That he would begin no action upon the enemy, till early in the morning; desiring My Lord to repose himself till then. Which My Lord did, and went to rest in his own coach that was close by in the field, until the time appointed.

Not long had My Lord been there, but he heard a

great noise and thunder of shooting, which gave him notice of the armies being engaged: whereupon he immediately put on his arms, and was no sooner got on horseback, but he beheld a dismal sight of the horse of His Majesties right wing, which out of a panick fear had left the field, and run away with all the speed they could; and though My Lord made them stand once, yet they immediately betook themselves to their heels again, and killed even those of their own party that endeavoured to stop them; the left wing in the mean time, commanded by those two valiant persons, the Lord Goring, and Sir Charles Lucas, having the better of the enemies right wing, which they beat back most valiantly three times, and made their general retreat, in so much that they sounded victory.

In this confusion My Lord (accompanied onely with his brother Sir Charles Cavendish, Major Scot, Capt. Mazine, and his page) hastening to see in what posture his own regiment was, met with a troop of gentlemen-voluntiers, who formerly had chosen him their captain, notwithstanding he was general of an army; to whom My Lord spake after this manner: *Gentlemen*, said he, *You have done me the honour to chuse me your captain, and now is the fittest time that I may do you service; wherefore if you'l follow me, I shall lead you on the best I can, and shew you the way to your own honour.* They being as glad of My Lord's profer, as My Lord was of their readiness, went on with the greatest courage; and passing through two bodies of foot, engaged with each other not at forty yards distance, received not the least hurt, although they fired quick upon each other; but marched towards a Scots regiment of foot, which they charged and routed; in which encounter My Lord himself killed

three with his page's half-leaded sword, for he had no other left him; and though all the gentlemen in particular offered him their swords, yet My Lord refused to take a sword of any of them. At last, after they had passed through this regiment of foot, a pike man made a stand to the whole troop; and though My Lord charged him twice or thrice, yet he could not enter him; but the troop dispatched him soon.

In all these encounters My Lord got not the least hurt, though several were slain about him; and his white coats shewed such an extraordinary valour and courage in that action, that they were killed in rank and file: and here I cannot but mention by the way, that it is remarkable, that in all actions and undertakings where My Lord was in person himself, he was always victorious, and prospered in the execution of his designs; but whatsoever was lost or succeeded ill, happened in his absence, and was caused either by the treachery, or negligence and carelessness of his officers.

My Lord being the last in the field, and seeing that all was lost, and that every one of His Majesties party made their escapes in the best manner they could; he being moreover inquired after by several of his friends, who had all a great love and respect for My Lord, especially by the then Earl of Craford (who loved My Lord so well that he gave 20*s.* to one that assured him of his being alive and safe, telling him, that that was all he had) went towards York late at night, accompanied onely with his brother, and one or two of his servants; and coming near the town, met His Highness Prince Rupert, with the Lieutenant-General of the army, the Lord Ethyn; His Highness asked My Lord how the business went? To whom he answered, that all was lost and gone on their side.

That night My Lord remained in York; and having nothing left in his power to do His Majesty any further service in that kind; for he had neither ammunition nor money to raise more forces, to keep either York, or any other towns that were yet in His Majesties devotion, well knowing that those which were left could not hold out long, and being also loath to have aspersions cast upon him, that he did sell them to the enemy, in case he could not keep them, he took a resolution, and that justly and honourably, to forsake the kingdom; and to that end, went the next morning to the Prince, and acquainted him with his design, desiring His Highness would be pleased to give this true and just report of him to His Majesty, that he had behaved himself like an honest man, a gentleman, and a loyal subject. Which request the Prince having granted, My Lord took his leave; and being conducted by a troop of horse, and a troop of dragoons to Scarborough, went to sea, and took shipping for Hamborough; the gentry of the country, who also came to take their leaves of My Lord, being much troubled at his departure, and speaking very honourably of him, as surely they had no reason to the contrary.

## THE SECOND BOOK

HAVING hitherto faithfully related the life of my noble Lord and husband, and the chief actions which he performed during the time of his being employed in His Majesties service for the good and interest of his king and country, until the time of his going out of England, I shall now give you a just account of all that passed during the time of his banishment, till the return into his native country.

My Lord being a wise man, and forseeing well what the loss of that fatal battle upon Hessom-moor, near York, would produce, by which not onely those of His Majesties party in the northern parts of the kingdom, but in all other parts of His Majesties dominions both in England, Scotland, and Ireland were lost and undone, and that there was no other way, but either to quit the kingdom, or submit to the emeny, or die, he resolved upon the former, and preparing for his journey, asked his steward how much money he had left? Who answered, that he had but 90*l.* My Lord not being at all startled at so small a summ, although his present design required much more, was resolved to seek his fortune, even with that little; and thereupon having taken leave of His Highness Prince Rupert, and the rest that were present, went to Scarborough (as before is mentioned) where two ships were prepared for Hamborough to set sail within 24 hours, in which he embarqued with his company, and arrived in four days time to the said city, which was on the 8th of July, 1644.

In one of these ships was My Lord, with his two sons, Charles Viscount Mansfield, and Lord Henry Cavendish, now Earl of Ogle; as also Sir Charles Cavendish, My Lord's brother; the then Lord Bishop of Londonderry, Dr. Bramhall; the Lord Falconbridge, the Lord Widdrington, Sir William Carnaby, who after died at Paris, and his brother, Mr. Francis Carnaby, who went presently in the same ship back again for England, and soon after was slain by the enemy, near Sherborne in Yorkshire, besides many of My Lord's and their servants. In the other ship was the Earl of Ethyne, Lieutenant-General of My Lord's army, and the Lord Cornworth. But before My Lord landed at Hamborough, his eldest son Charles, Lord Mansfield, fell sick of the small-pox, and not long after his younger son, Henry, now Earl of Ogle, fell likewise dangerously ill of the measels; but it pleased God that they both happily recovered.

My Lord finding his company and charge very great, although he sent several of his servants back again into England, and having no means left to maintain him, was forced to seek for credit; where at last he got so much as would in part relieve his necessities; and whereas heretofore he had been contented, for want of a coach, to make use of a waggon when his occasions drew him abroad, he was now able (with the credit he had got) to buy a coach and nine horses of an Holsatian breed; for which horses he paid 160*l.*, and was afterwards offered for one of them an hundred pistols at Paris, but he refused the money, and presented seven of them to Her Majesty the Queen-Mother of England, and kept two for his own use.

After My Lord had stayed in Hamborough from July 1644, till February 1644–5, he being resolved to go into France, went by sea from Hamborough to

Amsterdam, and from thence to Rotterdam, where he sent one of his servants with a complement and tender of his humble service to Her Highness, the then Princess Royal, the Queen of Bohemia, the Princess Dowager of Orange, and the Prince of Orange, which was received with much kindness and civility.

From Rotterdam he directed his journey to Antwerp, and from thence, with one coach, one chariot, and two waggons, he went to Mechlin and Brussels, where he received a visit from the governour, the Marquess of Castel Rodrigo, the Duke of Lorrain, and Count Piccolomini.

From thence he set forth for Valenchin and Cambray, where the Governour of the town used My Lord with great respect and civility, and desired him to give the word that night. Thence he went to Peroon, a frontier town in France (where the vice-governour, in absence of the governour of that place, did likewise entertain My Lord with all respect, and desired him to give the word that night), and so to Paris without any further stay.

My Lord being arrived at Paris, which was in April, 1645, immediately went to tender his humble duty to Her Majesty, the Queen-Mother of England, where it was my fortune to see him the first time, I being then one of the Maids of Honour to Her Majesty; and after he had stayed there some time, he was pleased to take some particular notice of me, and express more than an ordinary affection for me; insomuch that he resolved to chuse me for his second wife; for he, having but two sons, purposed to marry me, a young woman that might prove fruitful to him and encrease his posterity by a masculine offspring. Nay, he was so desirous of male-issue, that I have heard him say, he cared not (so God would be pleased to give him

many sons), although they came to be persons of the meanest fortunes; but God (it seems) had ordered it otherwise, and frustrated his designs by making me barren, which yet did never lessen his love and affection for me.

After My Lord was married, having no estate or means left him to maintain himself and his family, he was necessitated to seek for credit, and live upon the courtesie of those that were pleased to trust him; which although they did for somewhile, and shewed themselves very civil to My Lord, yet they grew weary at length, insomuch that his steward was forced one time to tell him, that he was not able to provide a dinner for him, for his creditors were resolved to trust him no longer. My Lord being always a great master of his passions, was, at least shewed himself not in any manner troubled at it, but in a pleasant humour told me, that I must of necessity pawn my cloaths to make so much money as would procure a dinner. I answered, that my cloaths would be but of small value, and therefore desired my wating-maid, to pawn some small toys, which I had formerly given her, which she willingly did. The same day in the afternoon, My Lord spake himself to his creditors, and both by his civil deportment, and perswasive arguments, obtained so much that they did not onely trust him for more necessaries, but lent him mony besides to redeem those toys that were pawned. Hereupon I sent my waiting-maid into England to my brother, the Lord Lucas, for that small portion which was left me, and My Lord also immediately after dispatched one of his servants, who was then governour to his sons, to some of his friends, to try what means he could procure for his subsistance; but though he used all the industry and endeavour he

could, yet he effected but little, by reason everybody was so affraid of the parliament, that they durst not relieve him, who was counted a traitor for his honest and loyal service to his king and country.

Not long after, My Lord had profers made him of some rich matches in England for his two sons, whom therefore he sent thither with one Mr. Loving, hoping by that means to provide both for them and himself; but they being arrived there, out of some reasons best known to them, declared their unwillingness to marry as yet, continuing nevertheless in England, and living as well as they could.

Some two years after My Lord's marriage, when he had prevailed so far with his creditors, that they began to trust him anew, the first thing he did was, that he removed out of those lodgings in Paris, where he had been necessitated to live hitherto, to a house which he hired for himself and his family, and furnished it as well as his new gotten credit would permit; and withal, resolving for his own recreation and divertisement in his banished condition, to exercise the art of mannage, which he is a great lover and master of, bought a Barbary-horse for that purpose, which cost him 200 pistols, and soon after another Barbary-horse from the Lord Crofts, for which he was to pay him 100*l.* when he returned into England.

About this time, there was a council called at St. Germain, in which were present, besides My Lord, Her Majesty the now Queen Mother of England; His Highness the Prince, our now gracious King, his cousin Prince Rupert; the Marquess of Worcester, the then Marquess, now Duke of Ormond, the Lord Jermyn now Earl of St. Albans, and several others; where after several debates concerning the then present condition of His Majesty King Charles the

First, My Lord delivered his sentiment, that he could perceive no other probability of procuring forces for His Majesty, but an assistance of the Scots; but Her Majesty was pleased to answer My Lord, that he was too quick.

Not long after, when My Lord had begun to settle himself in his mentioned new house, his gracious master the prince, having taken a resolution to go into Holland upon some designs, Her Majesty the Queen Mother desired My Lord to follow him, promising to engage for his debts which hitherto he had contracted at Paris, and commanding her controller and treasurer to be bound for them in her behalf; which they did, although the creditors would not content themselves, until My Lord had joined his word to theirs; so great and generous was the bounty and favour of Her Majesty to My Lord! considering she had already given him heretofore near upon 2000*l.* sterling, even at that time when Her Majesty stood most in need of it.

My Lord, after His Highness the Prince was gone, being ready to execute Her Majesties commands in following him, and preparing for his journey, wanted the chief thing, which was money; and having much endeavoured for it, at last had the good fortune to obtain upon credit three or four hundred pounds sterl. With which sum he set out of Paris in the same equipage he entered, viz. one coach, which he had newly caused to be made (wherein were the Lord Widdrington, My Lord's brother Sir Charles Cavendish, Mr. Loving, my waiting-maid, and some others, whereof the two later were then returned out of England) one little chariot, that would onely hold My Lord and my self; and three waggons, besides an indifferent number of servants on horseback.

That day when we left Paris, the creditors coming to take their farewell of My Lord, expressed so great a love and kindness for him, accompanied with so many hearty prayers and wishes, that he could not but prosper on his journey.

Being come into the King of Spain's dominions, My Lord found a very noble reception. At Cambray the governour was so civil, that My Lord coming to that place somewhat late, and when it was dark, he commanded some lights and torches to meet My Lord, and conduct him to his lodgings: he offered My Lord the keys of the city, and desired him to give the word that night, and moreover invited him to an entertainment, which he had made for him of purpose; but it being late, My Lord (tyred with his journey) excused himself as civilly as he could; the governour notwithstanding being pleased to send all manner of provisions to My Lord's lodgings, and charging our landlord to take no pay for any thing we had: which extraordinary civilities shewed that he was a right noble Spaniard.

The next morning early, My Lord went on his journey, and was very civilly used in every place of His Majesty of Spain's dominions, where he arrived: At last coming to Antwerp, he took water to Rotterdam (which town he chose for his residing place, during the time of his stay in Holland) and sent thither to a friend of his, a gentleman of quality, to provide him some lodgings; which he did, and procured them at the house of one Mrs. Beynham, widow to an English merchant, who had always been very loyal to His Majesty the King of England, and serviceable to His Majesties faithful subjects in whatsoever lay in his power.

My Lord being come to Rotterdam, was informed

that His Highness the Prince (now our gracious King) was gone to sea: Wherefore he resolved to follow him, and for that purpose hired a boat, and victualed it; but since nobody knew whither His Highness was gone, and I being unwilling that My Lord should venture upon so uncertain a voyage, and (as the proverb is) *Seek a needle in a bottle of hay*, he desisted from that design: the Lord Widdrington nevertheless, and Sir Will. Throckmorton, being resolved to find out the Prince, but having by a storm been driven towards the coast of Scotland, and endangered their lives, they returned without obtaining their aim.

After some little time, My Lord having notice that the Prince was arrived at the Hague, he went to wait on His Highness (which he also did afterwards at several times, so long as His Highness continued there) expecting some opportunity where he might be able to show his readiness to serve his king and countrey, as certainly there was no little hopes for it; for first, it was believed that the English fleet would come and render it self into the obedience of the Prince; next, it was reported that the Duke of Hamilton was going out of Scotland with a great army, into England, to the assistance of His Majesty, and that His Majesty had then some party at Colchester; but it pleased God that none of these proved effectual. For the fleet did not come in; the Duke of Hamilton's army was destroyed, and Colchester was taken by the enemy, where my dear brother Sir Charles Lucas, and his dear friend Sir George Lile, were most inhumanly murthered and shot to death, they being both valiant and heroick persons, good soldiers, and most loyal subjects to His Majesty; the one an excellent commander of horse, the other of foot.

My Lord having now lived in Rotterdam almost

six months, at a great charge, keeping an open and noble table for all comers, and being pleased especially to entertain such as were excellent soldiers, and noted commanders of war, whose kindness he took as a great obligation, still hoping that some occasion would happen to invite those worthy persons into England to serve His Majesty; but seeing no probability of either returning into England, or doing His Majesty any service in that kind, he resolved to retire to some place where he might live privately; and having chosen the city of Antwerp for that purpose, went to the Hague to take his leave of His Highness the Prince, our now gracious soveraign. My Lord had then but a small stock of money left; for though the then Marquess of Hereford (after Duke of Somerset, and his cousin-german, once removed, the now Earl of Devonshire had lent him 2000*l.* between them; yet all that was spent, and above 1000*l.* more, which My Lord borrowed during the time he lived in Rotterdam, his expence being the more, by reason (as I mentioned) he lived freely and nobly.

However My Lord, notwithstanding that little provision of money he had, set forth from Rotterdam to Antwerp, where for some time he lay in a publick inne, until one of his friends that had a great love and respect for My Lord, Mr. Endymion Porter, who was groom of the bed-chamber to His Majesty King Charles the First (a place not onely honourable, but very profitable) being not willing that a person of such quality as My Lord should lie in a publick house, proffered him lodgings at the house where he was, and would not let My Lord be at quiet, until he had accepted of them.

My Lord after he had stayed some while there, endeavouring to find out a house for himself which

might fit him and his small family (for at that time he had put off most of his train) and also be for his own content, lighted on one that belonged to the widow of a famous picture-drawer, Van Ruben, which he took.

About this time My Lord was much necessitated for money, which forced him to try several ways for to obtain so much as would relieve his present wants. At last Mr. Alesbury, the onely son to Sir Th. Alesbury, Knight and Baronet, and brother to the now Countess of Clarendon, a very worthy gentleman, and great friend to My Lord, having some moneys that belonged to the now Duke of Buckingham, and seeing My Lord in so great distress, did him the favour to lend him 200*l.* (which money My Lord since his return hath honestly and justly repai'd). This relief came so seasonably, that it got My Lord credit in the city of Antwerp, whereas otherwise he would have lost himself to his great disadvantage; for My Lord having hired the house aforementioned, and wanting furniture for it, was credited by the citizens for as many goods as he was pleased to have, as also for meat and drink, and all kind of necessaries and provisions, which certainly was a special blessing of God, he being not onely a stranger in that nation, but to all appearance, a ruined man.

After My Lord had been in Antwerp sometime, where he lived as retiredly as it was possible for him to do, he gained much love and respect of all that knew or had any business with him: at the beginning of our coming thither, we found but few English (except those that were merchants) but afterwards their number increased much, especially of persons of quality; and whereas at first there were no more but four coaches that went the tour, viz. the governor's

of the castle, My Lord's, and two more, they amounted to the number of above a hundred, before we went from thence; for all those that had sufficient means, and could go to the price, kept coaches, and went the tour for their own pleasure. And certainly I cannot in duty and conscience but give this publick testimony to that place. That whereas I have observed, that most commonly such towns or cities where the prince of that country doth not reside himself, or where there is no great resort of the chief nobility and gentry, are but little civilised; certainly, the inhabitants of the said city of Antwerp are the civilest, and best behaved people that ever I saw; so that My Lord lived there with as much content as a man of his condition could do, and his chief pastime and divertisement consisted in the mannage of the two afore-mentioned horses; which he had not enjoyed long, but the Barbary-horse, for which he paid 200 pistols in Paris, died, and soon after the horse which he had from the Lord Crofts; and though he wanted present means to repair these his losses, yet he endeavoured and obtained so much credit at last that he was able to buy two others, and by degrees so many as amounted in all to the number of 8. In which he took so much delight and pleasure, that though he was then in distress for money, yet he would sooner have tried all other ways, then parted with any of them; for I have heard him say, that good horses are so rare, as not to be valued for money, and that he who would buy him out of his pleasure (meaning his horses), must pay dear for it. For instance I shall mention some passages which happened when My Lord was in Antwerp.

First; a stranger coming thither, and seeing My Lord's horses, had a great mind to buy one of them,

which My Lord loved above the rest, and called him his favourite, a fine Spanish horse; intreating My Lord's escuyer to acquaint him with his desire, and ask the price of the said horse: My Lord, when he heard of it, commanded his servant, that if the chapman returned he should be brought before him; which being done accordingly, My Lord asked him, whether he was resolved to buy his Spanish horse? Yes, answered he, My Lord, and I'le give your Lordship a good price for him. I make no doubt of it, replied My Lord, or else you shall not have him: But you must know, said he, that the price of that horse is 1000*l.* to day, to morrow it will be 2000*l.*, next day 3000*l.* and so forth. By which the chapman perceiving that My Lord was unwilling to part with the said horse for any money, took his leave, and so went his ways.

The next was, that the Duke de Guise, who was also a great lover of good horses, hearing much commendation of a gray leaping horse, which My Lord then had, told the gentleman that praised and commended him, that if My Lord was willing to sell the said horse, he would give 600 pistols for him. The gentleman knowing My Lord's humour, answered again, that he was confident, My Lord would never part with him for any mony, and to that purpose sent a letter to My Lord from Paris; but My Lord was so far from selling that horse, that he was displeased to hear that any price should be offered for him: so great a love hath My Lord for good horses! And certainly I have observed, and do verily believe, that some of them had also a particular love to My Lord; for they seemed to rejoice whensoever he came into the stables, by their trampling action, and the noise they made; nay, they would go much better in

the mannage, when My Lord was by, then when he was absent; and when he rid them himself, they seemed to take much pleasure and pride in it. But of all sorts of horses, My Lord loved Spanish horses and barbes best; saying, that Spanish horses were like princes, and barbes like gentlemen, in their kind. And this was the chief recreation and pastime My Lord had in Antwerp.

I will now return to my former discourse, and the relation of some important affairs and actions which happened about this time: His Majesty (our now gracious King, Charles the Second) some time after he was gone out of Holland, and returned into France, took his journey from thence to Breda (if I remember well) to treat there with his subjects of Scotland, who had then made some offers of agreement: My Lord, according to his duty, went thither to wait on His Majesty, and was there in council with His Majesty, His Highness the then Prince of Orange, His Majesties brother-in-law, and some other privy-counsellors; in which, after several debates concerning that important affair, His Highness the Prince of Orange, and My Lord, agreed in one opinion, viz. that they could perceive no other and better way at that present for His Majesty but to make an agreement with his subjects of Scotland, upon any condition, and to go into Scotland in person himself, that he might but be sure of an army, there being no probability or appearance then of getting an army any where else. Which counsel, either out of the then alledged reasons, or some others best known to His Majesty, was embraced; His Majesty agreeing with the Scots so far (notwithstanding they were so unreasonable in their treaty, that His Majesty had hardly patience to hear them) that he resolved to go into Scotland in

person; and though My Lord had an earnest desire to wait on His Majesty thither, yet the Scots would not suffer him to come, or be in any part of that kingdom: wherefore out of his loyalty and duty, he gave His Majesty the best advice he could, viz. that he conceived it most safe for His Majesty to adhere to the Earl of Argyle's party, which he supposed to be the strongest; but especially, to reconcile Hamilton's and Argyle's party, and compose the differences between them; for then His Majesty would be sure of two parties, whereas otherwise he would leave an enemy behind him, which might cause his overthrow, and endanger His Majesties person; and if His Majesty could but get the power into his own hands, he might do hereafter what he pleased.

His Majesty being arrived in Scotland, ordered his affairs so wisely, that soon after he got an army to march with him into England; but whether they were all loyal, is not for me to dispute: however, Argyle was discontented, as it appeared by two complaining letters he sent to My Lord, which My Lord gave His Majesty notice of; so that onely the Duke of Hamilton went with His Majesty, who fought and died like a valiant man, and a loyal subject. In this fight between the English and Scots, His Majesty expressed an extraordinary courage; and though his army was in a manner destroyed, yet the glory of an heroick prince remained with our gracious soveraign.

In the mean time, whilest His Majesty was yet in Scotland, and before he marched with his army into England, it happened that the elector of Brandenburg, and Duke of Newburg, upon some differences, having raised forces against each other, but afterwards concluded a peace between them, were pleased to profer those forces to My Lord for His Majesties use

and service, which (as the Lord Chancellour, who was then in France, sent word to My Lord) was the onely foreign profer that had been made to His Majesty. My Lord immediately gave His Majesty notice of it; but whether it was for want of convenient transportation, or mony, or that the Scots did not like the assistance, that profer was not accepted.

Concerning the affairs and intrigues that passed in Scotland and England, during the time of His Majesties stay there, I am ignorant of them; neither doth it belong to me now to write, or give an account of any thing else but what concerns the history of my noble Lord and husband's life, and his own actions; who so soon as he had intelligence that the Scottish army, which went with His Majesty into England, was defeated, and that no body knew what was become of His Majesty, fell into so violent a passion that I verily believed it would have endangered his life; but when afterwards the happy news came of His Majesties safe arrival in France, never any subject could rejoice more then My Lord did.

About this time it chanced, that My Lord's brother Sir Charles Cavendish, and my self, took a journey into England, occasioned both by My Lord's extream want and necessity, and his brother's estate; which having been under sequestration from the time (or soon after) he went out of England, was then, in case he did not return and compound for it, to be sold outright; Sir Charles was unwilling to receive his estate upon such conditions, and would rather have lost it, then compounded for it: but My Lord considering it was better to recover something, then lose all, intreated the Lord Chancellour, who was then in Antwerp, to perswade his brother to a composition, which his Lordship did very effectually, and proved

himself a noble and true friend in it. We had so small a provision of money when we set forth our journey for England, that it was hardly able to carry us to London, but were forced to stay at Southwark; where Sir Charles sent into London for one that had formerly been his steward; and having declared to him his wants and necessities, desired him to try his credit. He seemed ready to do his master what service he could in that kind; but pretending withall, that his credit was but small, Sir Charles gave him his watch to pawn, and with that money paid those small scores we had made in our lodging there. From thence we went to some other lodgings that were prepared for us in Covent Garden; and having rested our selves some time, I desired my brother the Lord Lucas, to claim, in my behalf, some subsistance for my self out of My Lord's estate, (for it was declared by the Parliament, that the lands of those that were banished, should be sold to any that would buy them, onely their wives and children were allowed to put in their claims:) But he received this answer, that I could not expect the least allowance, by reason my Lord and husband had been the greatest traitor of England (that is to say, the honestest man, because he had been most against them).

Then Sir Charles intrusted some persons to compound for his estate; but it being a good while before they agreed in their composition, and then before the rents could be received, we having in the mean time nothing to live on, must of necessity have been starved, had not Sir Charles got some credit of several persons, and that not without great difficulty; for all those that had estates, were afraid to come near him, much less to assist him, until he was sure of his own estate. So much is misery and poverty shunned!

But though our condition was hard, yet my dear Lord and husband, whom we left in Antwerp, was then in a far greater distress then our selves; for at our departure he had nothing but what his credit was able to procure him; and having run upon the score so long without paying any the least part thereof, his creditors began to grow impatient, and resolved to trust him no longer: Wherefore he sent me word, that if his brother did not presently relieve him, he was forced to starve. Which doleful news caused great sadness and melancholy in us both, and withal made his brother try his utmost endeavour to procure what moneys he could for his subsistance, who at last got 200*l.* sterl. upon credit, which he immediately made over to My Lord.

But in the mean time, before the said money could come to his hands, My Lord had been forced to send for all his creditors, and declare to them his great wants and necessities; where his speech was so effectual, and made such an impression in them, that they had all a deep sense of My Lord's misfortunes; and instead of urging the payment of his debts, promised him, that he should not want any thing in whatsoever they were able to assist him; which they also very nobly and civilly performed, furnishing him with all manner of provisions and necessaries for his further subsistance; so that My Lord was then in a much better condition amongst strangers, then we in our native countrey.

At last when Sir Charles Cavendish had compounded for his estate, and agreed to pay 4500*l.* for it, the parliament caused it again to be surveyed, and made him pay 500*l.* more, which was more then many others had paid for much greater estates; so that Sir Charles to pay this composition, and discharge

some debts, was necessitated to sell some land of his at an under-rate. My Lord's two sons (who were also in England at that time) were no less in want and necessity, then we, having nothing but bare credit to live on; and My Lord's estate being then to be sold outright, Sir Charles, his brother, endeavoured, if possible, to save the two chief houses, viz. Welbeck and Bolsover, being resolved rather to part with some more of his land, which he had lately compounded for, then to let them fall into the enemies hands; but before such time as he could compass the money, some body had bought Bolsover, with an intention to pull it down, and make money of the materials; of whom Sir Charles was forced to buy it again at a far greater rate then he might have had it at first, notwithstanding a great part of it was pulled down already; and though My Lord's eldest son Charles Lord Mansfield, had those mentioned houses some time in possession, after the death of his uncle; yet for want of means he was not able to repair them.

I having now been in England a year and a half, some intelligence which I received of My Lord's being not very well, and the small hopes I had of getting some relief out of his estate, put me upon design of returning to Antwerp to My Lord; and Sir Charles, his brother, took the same resolution, but was prevented by an ague that seized upon him. Not long had I been with My Lord, but we received the sad news of his brother's death, which was an extream affliction both to My Lord, and my self, for they loved each other entirely: In truth, he was a person of so great worth, such extraordinary civility, so obliging a nature, so full of generosity, justice and charity, besides all manner of learning, especially in the

mathematicks, that not onely his friends, but even his enemies, did much lament his loss.

After my return out of England, to My Lord, the creditors supposing I had brought great store of money along with me, came all to My Lord to solicite the payment of their debts; but when My Lord had informed them of the truth of the business, and desired their patience somewhat longer, with assurance that so soon as he received any money, he would honestly and justly satisfie them, they were not onely willing to forbear the payment of those debts he had contracted hitherto, but to credit him for the future, and supply him with such necessaries as he should desire of them. And this was the onely happiness which My Lord had in his distressed condition, and the chief blessing of the eternal and merciful God, in whose Power are all things, who ruled the hearts and minds of men, and filled them with charity and compassion; for certainly it was a work of divine providence, that they shewed so much love, respect and honour to My Lord, a stranger to their nation; and notwithstanding his ruined condition, and the small appearance of recovering his own, credited him wheresoever he lived, both in France, Holland, Brabant and Germany; that although My Lord was banished his native countrey, and dispossessed from his own estate, could nevertheless live in so much splendor and grandure as he did.

In this condition (and how little soever the appearance was) My Lord was never without hopes of seeing yet (before his death) a happy issue of all his misfortunes and sufferings, especially of the restauration of his most gracious king and master, to his throne and kingly rights, whereof he always had assured hopes, well knowing, that it was impossible for the

kingdom to subsist long under so many changes of government; and whensoever I expressed how little faith I had in it, he would gently reprove me, saying, I believed least, what I desired most; and could never be happy if I endeavoured to exclude all hopes and entertained nothing but doubts and fears.

The city of Antwerp in which we lived, being a place of great resort for strangers and travellers, His Majesty (our now gracious King, Charles the Second) passed thorough it, when he went his journey towards Germany; and after My Lord had done his humble duty, and waited on His Majesty, he was pleased to honour him with his presence at his house. The same did almost all strangers that were persons of quality; if they made any stay in the town, they would come and visit My Lord, and see the mannage of his horses: and, amongst the rest, the Duke of Oldenburg, and the Prince of East Friesland, did My Lord the honour, and presented him with horses of their own breed.

One time it happened, that His Highness Dom John d'Austria (who was then governour of those provinces) came to Antwerp, and stayed there some few days; and then almost all his Court waited on My Lord, so that one day I reckoned about seventeen coaches, in which were all persons of quality, who came in the morning of purpose to see My Lord's mannage; My Lord receiving so great an honour thought it fit to shew his respect and civility to them, and to ride some of his horses himself, which otherwise he never did but for his own exercise and delight. Amongst the rest of those great and noble persons, there were two of our nation, viz. the then Marquess, now Duke of Ormond, and the Earl of Bristol; but Dom[i] John was not there in person, excusing himself

afterwards to My Lord (when My Lord waited on him) that the multiplicity of his weighty affairs had hindered his coming thither, which My Lord accounted as a very high honour and favour from so great a prince; and conceiving it his duty to wait on His Highness, but being unknown to him, the Earl of Bristol, who had acquaintance with him, did My Lord the favour, and upon his request, presented him to His Highness; which favour of the said Earl My Lord highly resented.

Dom John received My Lord with all kindness and respect; for although there were many great and noble persons that waited on him in an out room, yet so soon as His Highness heard of My Lord's, and the Earl of Bristol's being there, he was pleased to admit them before all the rest. My Lord, after he had passed his complements, told his Highness, that he found himself bound in all duty to make his humble acknowledgments for the favour he received from His Catholick Majesty for permitting and suffering him (a banished man) to live in his dominions, and under the government of His Highness; whereupon Dom John asked My Lord whether he wanted any thing, and whether he lived peaceably without any molestation or disturbance? My Lord answered, That he lived as much to his own content as a banished man could do; and received more respect and civility from that city then he could have expected, for which he returned his most humble thanks to His Catholick Majesty, and His Highness. After some short discourse, My Lord took his leave of Dom John; several of the Spaniards advising him to go into Spain, and assuring him of His Catholick Majesties kindness and favour; but My Lord being engaged in the city of Antwerp, and besides in years, and wanting means

for so long and chargeable a voyage, was not able to embrace their motions; and surely he was so well pleased with the great civilities he received from that city, that then he was resolved to chuse no other residing place all the time of his banishment but that; he being not onely credited there for all manner of provisions and necessaries for his subsistance, but also free both from ordinary and extraordinary taxes, and from paying excise, which was a great favour and obligation to My Lord.

After His Highness Dom John had left the government of those provinces the Marquess of Caracena succeeded in his place, who having a great desire to see My Lord ride in the Mannage, entreated a gentleman of the city, that was acquainted with My Lord, to beg that favour of him. My Lord having not been at that exercise six weeks, or two months, by reason of some sickness that made him unfit for it, civilly begged his excuse; but he was so much importuned by the said gentleman that at last he granted his request, and rid one or two horses in presence of the said Marquess of Caracena, and the then Marquess, now Duke of Ormond, who often used to honour My Lord with his company. The said Marquess of Caracena seemed to take much pleasure and satisfaction in it, and highly complemented My Lord; and certainly I have observed, that noble and meritorious persons take great delight in honouring each other.

But not onely strangers, but His Majesty himself (our now gracious soveraign) was pleased to see My Lord ride, and one time did ride himself, he being an excellent master of that art, and instructed by My Lord, who had the honour to set him first on a horse of mannage, when he was his governour; where His Majesties capacity was such, that being but ten

years of age, he would ride leaping horses, and such as would overthrow others, and mannage them with the greatest skill and dexterity, to the admiration of all that beheld him.

Nor was this the onely honour My Lord received from His Majesty, but His Majesty and all the royal race; that is to say, Her Highness the then Princess Royal, His Highness the Duke of York, with his brother the Duke of Glocester, (except the Princesse Henrietta, now Duchess of Orleans,) being met one time in Antwerp, were pleased to honour My Lord with their presence, and accept of a small entertainment at his house, such as his present condition was able to afford them. And some other time His Majesty passing through the city was pleased to accept of a private dinner at My Lord's house; after which I receiving that gracious favour from His Majesty, that he was pleased to see me, he did merrily and in jest, tell me, *That he perceived My Lord's credit could procure better meat then his own.* Again, some other time, upon a merry challenge playing a game at butts with My Lord (when My Lord had the better of him), *What* (said he) *My Lord, have you invited me to play the rook with me?* Although their stakes were not at all considerable, but onely for pastime.

These passages I mention onely to declare My Lord's happiness in his miseries, which he received by the honour and kindness not onely of foreign princes, but of his own master and gracious soveraign: I will not speak now of the good esteem and repute he had by his late Majesty King Charles the First, and Her Majesty the now Queen-Mother, who always held and found him a very loyal and faithful subject, although fortune was pleased to oppose him in the height of his endeavours; for his onely and chief intention

was to hinder His Majesties enemies from executing that cruel design which they had upon their gracious and merciful King; in which he tried his uttermost power, in so much that I have heard him say out of a passionate zeal and loyalty, that he would willingly sacrifice himself and all his posterity, for the sake of His Majesty and the royal race. Nor did he ever repine either at his losses or sufferings, but rejoyced rather that he was able to suffer for his king and countrey. His army was the onely army that was able to uphold His Majesties power; which so long as it was victorious it preserved both His Majesties person and crown; but so soon as it fell, that fell too: and My Lord was then in a manner forced to seek his own preservation in foreign countries, where God was pleased to make strangers his friends, who received and protected him when he was banished his native country, and relieved him when his own country-men sought to starve him by withholding from him what was justly his own, onely for his honesty and loyalty; which relief he received more from the commons of those parts where he lived, then from princes, he being unwilling to trouble any foreign prince with his wants and miseries, well knowing, that gifts of great princes come slowly, and not without much difficulty; neither loves he to petition any one but his own soveraign.

But though My Lord by the civility of strangers, and the assistance of some few friends of his native country, lived in an indifferent condition, yet (as it hath been declared heretofore) he was put to great plunges and difficulties, in so much that his dear brother Sir Charles Cavendish would often say, that though he could not truly complain of want, yet his meat never did him good by reason My Lord, his brother, was always so near wanting, that he was

never sure after one meal to have another: and though I was not afraid of starving or begging, yet my chief fear was, that My Lord for his debts would suffer imprisonment, where sadness of mind, and want of exercise, and air, would have wrought his destruction, which yet by the mercy of God he happily avoided.

Some time before the restauration of His Majesty to his royal throne, My Lord, partly with the remainder of his brother's estate, which was but little, it being wasted by selling of land for compounding with the parliament, paying of several debts, and buying out the two houses aforementioned, viz. Welbeck and Bolsover; and the credit which his sons had got, which amounted in all to £2400 a year, sprinkled something amongst his creditors, and borrowed so much of Mr. Top and Mr. Smith (though without assurance) that he could pay such scores as were most pressing, contracted from the poorer sort of tradesmen, and send ready mony to market, to avoid cozenage (for small scores run up most unreasonably, especially if no strict accounts be kept, and the rate be left to the creditor's pleasure) by which means there was in a short time so much saved, as it could not have been imagined.

About this time, a report came of a great number of sectaries, and of several disturbances in England, which heightened My Lord's former hopes into a firm belief of a sudden change in that kingdom, and a happy restauration of His Majesty, which it also pleased God to send according to his expectation; for His Majesty was invited by his subjects, who were not able longer to endure those great confusions and encumbrances they had sustained hitherto, to take possession of his hereditary rights, and the power of

all his dominions: and being then at the Hague in Holland, to take shipping in those parts for England, My Lord went thither to wait on His Majesty, who used My Lord very graciously; and his Highness the Duke of York was pleased to offer him one of those ships that were ordered to transport His Majesty; for which he returned his most humble thanks to His Highness, and begged leave of His Highness that he might hire a vessel for himself and his company.

In the mean time whilst My Lord was at the Hague, His Majesty was pleased to tell him, that General Monk, now Duke of Albemarle, had desired the place of being master of the horse: to which My Lord answered, that that gallant person was worthy of any favour that His Majesty could confer upon him: and having taken his leave of His Majesty, and His Highness the Duke of York, went towards the ship that was to transport him for England, (I might better call it a boat, then a ship; for those that were intrusted by My Lord to hire a ship for that purpose, had hired an old rotten fregat, that was lost the next voyage after; insomuch, that when some of the company that had promised to go over with My Lord saw it, they turned back, and would not endanger their lives in it, except the now Lord Widdrington who was resolved not to forsake My Lord).

My Lord (who was so transported with the joy of returning into his native countrey, that he regarded not the vessel) having set sail from Rotterdam, was so becalmed, that he was six dayes and six nights upon the water, during which time he pleased himself with mirth, and passed his time away as well as he could; provisions he wanted not, having them in great store and plenty. At last being come so far that he was able to discern the smoak of London, which

he had not seen in a long time, he merrily was pleased to desire one that was near him, to jogg and awake him out of his dream, for surely, said he, I have been sixteen years asleep, and am not throughly awake yet. My Lord lay that night at Greenwich, where his supper seemed more savoury to him, then any meat he had hitherto tasted; and the noise of some scraping fidlers, he thought the pleasantest harmony that ever he had heard.

In the mean time My Lord's son, Henry Lord Mansfield, now Earl of Ogle, was gone to Dover, with intention to wait on His Majesty, and receive My Lord his father, with all joy and duty, thinking he had been with His Majesty; but when he missed of his design, he was very much troubled, and more, when His Majesty was pleased to tell him, that My Lord had set to sea, before His Majesty himself was gone out of Holland, fearing My Lord had met with some misfortune in his journey, because he had not heard of his landing. Wherefore he immediately parted from Dover, to seek My Lord, whom at last he found at Greenwich; with what joy they embraced and saluted each other, my pen is too weak to express.

But all this while, and after My Lord was gone from Antwerp, I was left alone there with some of my servants; for My Lord being in Holland with His Majesty, declared in a letter to me his intention of going for England, withal commanding me to stay in that city, as a pawn for his debts, until he could compass money to discharge them; and to excuse him to the magistrates of the said city for not taking his leave of them, and paying his due thanks for their great civilities, which he desired me to do in his behalf. And certainly My Lord's affection to me was such, that it made him very industrious in providing

those means; for it being uncertain what or whether he should have any thing of his estate, made it a difficult business for him to borrow mony; at last he received some of one Mr. Ash, now Sir Joseph Ash, a merchant of Antwerp, which he returned to me; but what with the expence I had made in the mean while, and what was required for my transporting into England, besides the debts formerly contracted, the said money fell too short by 400*l.* and although I could have upon my own word taken up much more, yet I was unwilling to leave an engagement amongst strangers: wherefore I sent for one Mr. Shaw, now Sir John Shaw, a near kindsman to the said Mr. Ash, intreating him to lend me 400*l.* which he did most readily, and so discharged my debts.

My departure being now divulged in Antwerp, the magistrates of the city came to take their leaves of me, where I desired one Mr. Duart a very worthy gentleman, and one of the chief of the city, though he derives his race from the Portuguez (to whom and his sisters, all very skilful in the art of musick, though for their own pastime and recreation, both My Lord and my self were much bound for their great civilities) to be my interpreter. They were pleased to express that they were sorry for our departure out of their city, but withal rejoyced at our happy returning into our native country, and wished me soon and well to the place where I most desired to be: whereupon I having excused My Lord's hasty going away without taking his leave of them, returned them mine and My Lord's hearty thanks for their great civilities, declaring how sorry I was that it lay not in my power to make an acknowledgment answerable to them. But after their departure from me, they were pleased to send their under officers (as the custom there is)

with a present of wine, which I received with all respect and thankfulness.

I being thus prepared for my voyage, went with my servants to Flussing, and finding no English man of war there, being loth to trust my self with a less vessel, was at last informed that a Dutch man of war lay there ready to convoy some merchants; I forthwith sent for the captain thereof, whose name was Bankert, and asked him whether it was possible to obtain the favour of having the use of his ship to transport me into England? To which he answered, that he questioned not but I might; for the merchants which he was to convey were not ready yet, desiring me to send one of my servants to the state, to request that favour of them; with whom he would go himself, and assist him the best he could; which he also did. My suit being granted, my self and my chief servants embarqued in the said ship; the rest, together with the goods, being conveyed in another good strong vessel, hired for that purpose.

After I was safely arrived at London, I found My Lord in lodgings; I cannot call them unhandsome; but yet they were not fit for a person of his rank and quality, nor of the capacity to contain all his family: neither did I find My Lord's condition such as I expected: wherefore out of some passion I desired him to leave the town, and retire into the countrey; but My Lord gently reproved me for my rashness and impatience, and soon after removed into Dorset-house; which, though it was better then the former, yet not altogether to my satisfaction, we having but a part of the said house in possession. By this removal I judged My Lord would not hastily depart from London; but not long after, he was pleased to tell me, that he had dispatched his business, and was now

resolved to remove into the country, having already given order for waggons to transport our goods, which was no unpleasant news to me, who had a great desire for a countrey-life.

My Lord before he began his journey, went to his gracious soveraign, and begged leave that he might retire into the countrey, to reduce and settle, if possible, his confused, entangled, and almost ruined estate, *Sir*, said he to His Majesty, *I am not ignorant, that many believe I am discontented; and 'tis probable they'l say, I retire through discontent: But I take God to witness, that I am in no kind or ways displeased; for I am so joyed at your Majesties happy restauration, that I cannot be sad or troubled for any concern to my own particular; but whatsoever your Majesty is pleased to command me, were it to sacrifice my life, I shall most obediently perform it; for I have no other will, but your Majesties pleasure.*

Thus he kissed His Majesty's hand, and went the next day into Nottinghamshire, to his mannor-house called Welbeck; but when he came there, and began to examine his estate, and how it had been ordered in the time of his banishment, he knew not whether he had left anything of it for himself, or not, till by his prudence and wisdom he informed himself the best he could, examining those that had most knowledg(e) therein. Some lands, he found, could be recovered no further then for his life, and some not at all: some had been in the rebels hands, which he could not recover, but by His Highness the Duke of York's favour, to whom His Majesty had given all the estates of those that were condemned and executed for murdering his royal father of blessed memory, which by the law were forfeited to His Majesty; whereof His Highness graciously restored My Lord

so much of the land that formerly had been his, as amounted to 730*l.* a year. And though My Lord's children had their claims granted, and bought out the life of My Lord, their father, which came near upon the third part, yet My Lord received nothing for himself out of his own estate, for the space of eighteen years, viz. during the time from the first entering into warr, which was June 11. 1642, till his return out of banishment, May 28. 1660; for though his son Henry, now Earl of Ogle, and his eldest daughter, the now Lady Cheiny, did all what lay in their power to relieve My Lord their father, and sent him some supplies of moneys at several times when he was in banishment; yet that was of their own, rather then out of My Lord's estate; for the Lady Cheiny sold some few jewels which My Lord, her father, had left her, and some chamber-plate which she had from her grandmother, and sent over the money to My Lord, besides 1000*l.* of her portion: and the now Earl of Ogle did at several times supply My Lord, his father, with such moneys as he had partly obtained upon credit, and partly made by his marriage.

After My Lord had begun to view those ruines that were nearest, and tried the law to keep or recover what formerly was his, (which certainly shewed no favour to him, besides that the act of oblivion proved a great hindrance and obstruction to those his designs, as it did no less to all the royal party) and had setled so much of his estate as possibly he could, he cast up the summ of his debts, and set out several parts of land for the payment of them, or of some of them (for some of his lands could not be easily sold, being entailed) and some he sold in Derbyshire to buy the Castle of Nottingham, which although it

is quite ruined and demolisht, yet, it being a seat which had pleased his father very much, he would not leave it since it was offered to be sold.

His two houses Welbeck and Bolsover he found much out of repair, and this later half pulled down, no furniture or any necessary goods were left in them, but some few hangings and pictures, which had been saved by the care and industry of his eldest daughter the Lady Cheiny, and were bought over again after the death of his eldest son Charles, Lord Mansfield; for they being given to him, and he leaving some debts to be paid after his death, My Lord sent to his other son Henry, now Earl of Ogle, to endeavour for so much credit, that the said hangings and pictures (which My Lord esteemed very much, the pictures being drawn by Van Dyke) might be saved; which he also did, and My Lord hath paid the debt since his return.

Of eight Parks, which My Lord had before the wars, there was but one left that was not quite destroyed, viz. Welbeck Park of about four miles compass; for My Lord's brother Sir Charles Cavendish, who bought out the life of My Lord in that Lordship, saved most part of it from being cut down; and in Blore Park there were some few deer left: the rest of the parks were totally defaced and destroyed, both wood, pales and deer; amongst which was also Clipston Park of seven miles compass, wherein My Lord had taken much delight formerly, it being rich of wood, and containing the greatest and tallest timber trees of all the woods he had; in so much, that onely the Pale-row was valued at 2000*l*. It was watered by a pleasant river that runs through it, full of fish and otters; was well stocked with deer, full of hares, and had great store of partriges, poots, pheasants, etc.,

besides all sorts of water-fowl; so that this park afforded all manner of sports, for hunting, hawking, coursing, fishing, etc., for which My Lord esteemed it very much: and although his patience and wisdom is such, that I never perceived him sad or discontented for his own losses and misfortunes, yet when he beheld the ruines of that park, I observed him troubled, though he did little express it, onely saying, he had been in hopes it would not have been so much defaced as he found it, there being not one timber-tree in it left for shelter. However he patiently bore what could not be helped, and gave present order for the cutting down of some wood that was left him in a place near adjoining, to repale it, and got from several friends deer to stock it.

Thus though his law-suits and other unavoidable expences were very chargeable to him, yet he ordered his affairs so prudently, that by degrees he stocked and manured those lands he keeps for his own use, and in part repaired his mannor-houses, Welbeck and Bolsover, to which latter he made some additional building; and though he has not yet built the seat at Nottingham, yet he hath stocked and paled a little park belonging to it.

Nor is it possible for him to repair all the ruines of the estate that is left him, in so short a time, they being so great, and his losses so considerable, that I cannot without grief and trouble remember them; for before the wars My Lord had as great an estate as any subject in the kingdom, descended upon him most by women, viz. by his grandmother of his father's side, his own mother, and his first wife.

What estate his grandfather left to his father Sir Charles Cavendish, I know not; nor can I exactly

tell what he had from his grandmother, but she was very rich; for her third husband Sir Will. Saint Loo, gave her a good estate in the west, which afterwards descended upon My Lord, My Lord's mother being the younger daughter of the Lord Ogle, and sole heir, after the death of her eldest sister Jane, Countess of Shrewsbury, whom King Charles the First restored to her father's dignity, viz. Baroness of Ogle: this title descended upon My Lord and his heirs general, together with 3000*l.* a year in Northumberland; and besides the estate left to My Lord, she gave him 20,000*l.* in money, and kept him and his family at her own charge for several years.

My Lord's first wife, who was daughter and heir to William Basset of Blore, Esq; widow to Henry Howard, younger son to Thomas Earl of Suffolk, brought My Lord 2400*l.* a year inheritance, between six and seven thousand pounds in money, and a jointure for her life of 800*l.* a year. Besides My Lord increased his own estate before the wars, to the value of 100,000*l.* and had increased it more, had not the unhappy wars prevented him; for though he had some disadvantages in his estate, even before the wars, yet they are not considerable to those he suffered afterwards for the service of his king and country: for example, his father Sir Charles Cavendish had lent his brother in law Gilbert Earl of Shrewsbury 16,000*l.* for which, although afterward before his death he setled 2000*l.* a year upon him; yet he having injoyed the said money for many years without paying any use for it, it might have been improved to My Lord's better advantage, had it been in his father's own hands, he being a person of great prudence in managing his estate; and though the said Earl of Shrewsbury made My Lord his

executor, yet My Lord was so far from making any advantage by that trust, even in what the law allowed him, that he lost 17,000*l.* by it; and afterwards delivered up his trust to William Earl of Pembrook, and Thomas Earl of Arundel, who both married two daughters of the said Earl of Shrewsbury; and since his return into England, upon the desire of Henry Howard, second son to the late Earl of Arundel, and heir apparent (by reason of his eldest brother's distemper) he resigned his trust and interest to him, which certainly is a very difficult business, and yet questionable whether it may lawfully be done, or not? But such was My Lord's love to the family of the Shrewsburies, that he would rather wrong himself, then it.

To mention some lawful advantages which My Lord might have made by the said trust, it may be noted in the first place, that the Earl of Shrewsbury's estate was let in long leases, which, by the law, fell to the executor. Next, that after some debts and legacies were paid out of those lands, which were set out for that purpose, they were setled so, that they fell to My Lord. Thirdly, seven hundred pounds a year was left as a gift to My Lord's brother, Sir Charles Cavendish, in case the Countess of Kent, second daughter to the said Earl of Shrewsbury, had no children. But My Lord never made any advantage for himself, of all these; neither was he inquisitive whether the said Countess of Kent cut off the entail of that land, although she never had a child; for My Lord's nature is so generous, that he hates to be mercenary, and never minds his own profit or interest in any trust or employment, more then the good and benefit of him that intrusts or employs him.

But, as I said heretofore, these are but petty losses

in comparison of those he sustained by the late civil warrs, whereof I shall partly give you an account: I say partly: for though it may be computed what the loss of the annual rents of his lands amounts to, of which he never received the least worth for himself and his own profit, during the time both of his being employed in the service of warr, and his sufferings in banishment; as also the loss of those lands that are alienated from him, both in present possession, and in reversion; and of his parks and woods that were cut down; yet it is impossible to render an exact account of his personal estate.

As for his rents during the time he acted in the warrs, though he suffered others to gather theirs for their own use, yet his own either went for the use of the army, or fell into the hands of the enemy, or were suppressed and with-held from him by the cozenage of his tenants and officers, My Lord being then not able to look after them himself.

About the time when his late Majesty undertook the expedition into Scotland for the suppressing of some insurrection that happened there; My Lord, as afore is mentioned, among the rest, lent His Majesty 10,000*l.* sterling; but having newly married a daughter to the then Lord Brackly, now Earl of Bridgwater, whose portion was 12,000*l.* the moiety whereof was paid in gold on the day of her marriage, and the rest soon after (although she was too young to be bedded). This, together with some other expences, caused him to take up the said 10,000*l.* at interest, the use whereof he paid many years after.

Also when after his sixteen years banishment, he returned into England, before he knew what estate was left him, and was able to receive any rents of his

own, he was necessitated to take 5000*l.* upon use for the maintenance of himself and his family; whereof the now Earl of Devonshire, his cousin german, once removed, lent him 1000*l.* for which and the former 1000*l.* mentioned heretofore, he never desired nor received any use from My Lord, which I mention, to declare the favour and bounty of that noble lord.

But though it is impossible to render an exact account of all the losses which My Lord has sustained by the said wars, yet as far as they are accountable, I shall endeavour to represent them in these following particulars:

In the first place, I shall give you a just particular of My Lord's estate in lands, as it was before the wars, partly according to the value of his own surveighers, and partly according to the rate it is let, at this present.

Next, I shall accompt the woods cut down by the rebellious party, in several places of My Lord's estate.

Thirdly, I shall compute the value of those lands which My Lord hath lost, both in present possession, and in reversion; that is to say, those which he has lost altogether, both for himself, and his posterity; and those he has recovered onely during the time of his life, and which his onely son and heir, the now Earl of Ogle, must lose after his father's decease.

Fourthly, I shall make mention, how much of land My Lord hath been forced to sell for the payment of some of his debts, contracted during the time of the late Civil Wars, and when his estate was sequestered; I say some, for there are a great many to pay yet.

To which I shall, fifthly, add the composition of his brother's estate; and the loss of it for eight years.

*A Particular of My Lord's estate in plain rents, as it was partly surveighed in the year* 1641, *and partly is let at this present.*

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

| | l. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| The Mannor of Welbeck . . | 600 | 0 | 0 |
| The Mannor of Norton, Carbarton, and the Granges . . . . . | 454 | 19 | 1 |
| Warksopp . . . . . | 51 | 6 | 8 |
| The Mannor-house of Soakholm . . | 308 | 10 | 3 |
| The Manor of Clipston and Edwinstow . | 334 | 9 | 8 |
| Drayton . . . . . | 8 | 16 | 6 |
| Dunham . . . . . | 99 | 17 | 8 |
| Sutton . . . . . | 185 | 0 | 5 |
| The Mannor of Kirby, etc. . . | 1075 | 7 | 2 |
| The Mannor of Cotham . . . | 833 | 18 | 8 |
| The Mannor of Sitthorp . . . | 704 | 1 | 0 |
| Carcholston . . . . . | 450 | 3 | 0 |
| Hauksworth, etc. . . . . | 139 | 4 | 2 |
| Flawborough . . . . . | 512 | 11 | 8 |
| Mearing and Holm-Meadow . . | 471 | 2 | 0 |
| | 6229 | 7 | 11 |

LINCOLNSHIRE.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wellinger and Ingham Meales . . | 100 | 0 | 0 |

DERBYSHIRE

| | l. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| The Barrony of Bolsover and Woodthorp | 846 | 8 | 11 |
| The Mannor of Chesterfield | 378 | 0 | 0 |
| The Mannor of Barlow | 796 | 17 | 6 |
| Tissington | 159 | 11 | 0 |
| Dronfield | 486 | 15 | 10 |
| The Mannor of Brampton | 142 | 4 | 8 |
| Little-Longston | 87 | 2 | 0 |
| The Mannor of Stoak | 212 | 3 | 0 |
| Birth-Hall, and Peak-Forrest | 131 | 8 | 0 |
| The Mannor of Gringlow | 156 | 8 | 0 |
| The Mannor of Hucklow | 162 | 10 | 8 |
| The Mannor of Blackwall | 306 | 0 | 4 |
| Buxton and Tids-Hall | 153 | 2 | 0 |
| Mansfield-Park | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Mappleton and Thorp | 207 | 5 | 0 |
| The Mannor of Windly-Hill | 238 | 18 | 0 |
| The Mannor of Litchurch and Markworth | 713 | 15 | 1 |
| Church and Meynel Langly Mannor | 850 | 1 | 0 |
| | 6128 | 11 | 10 |

STAFFORDSHIRE.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| The Mannor of Bloar with Caulton | 573 | 13 | 4 |
| The Mannor of Grindon, Cauldon, with Waterfull | 822 | 3 | 0 |
| The Mannor of Cheadle with Kinsly | 259 | 18 | 0 |
| The Mannor of Barleston, etc. | 694 | 3 | 0 |
| | 2349 | 17 | 4 |

| | l. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| GLOCESTERSHIRE. | | | |
| The Manor of Tormorton with Litleton . | 1193 | 16 | 0 |
| The Mannor of Acton Turvil . . | 388 | 3 | 2 |
| | 1581 | 19 | 2 |
| SUMMERSETSHIRE. | | | |
| The Mannor of Chewstoak . . . | 816 | 15 | 6 |
| Knighton Sutton . . . . | 300 | 14 | 4 |
| Stroud and Kingsham-Park . . | 186 | 4 | 0 |
| | 1303 | 13 | 10 |
| YORKSHIRE | | | |
| The Manors of Slingsby, Hoverngham and Friton, Northinges and Pomfret . | 1700 | 0 | 0 |
| NORTHUMBERLAND | | | |
| The Barrony of Bothal, Ogle and Hepple etc. . . . . | 3,000 | 0 | 0 |
| *Totall* . | 22,393 | 10 | 1 |

That this particular of My Lord's estate was no less then is mentioned, may partly appear by the rate, as it was surveighed, and sold by the rebellious parliament; for they raised, towards the latter end of their power, which was in the year 1652, out of My Lord's estate, the summe of 111,593*l.* 10s. 11d. at five years and a half purchase, which was at above the rate of 18,000*l.* a year, besides woods; and his brother Sir Charles Cavendish's estate, which estate was 2000*l.* a year, which falls not much short of the mentioned account; and certainly, had they not

sold such lands at easie rates, few would have bought them, by reason the purchasers were uncertain how long they should enjoy their purchase: besides, under-officers do not usually refuse bribes; and it is well known that the surveighers did under-rate estates according as they were feed by the purchasers.

Again, many of the estates of banished persons were given to soldiers for the payment of their arrears, who again sold them to others which would buy them at easier rates. But chiefly it appears by the rate as My Lord's estate is let at present, there being several of the mentioned lands that are let at a higher rate now then they were surveighed; nor are they all valued in the mentioned particular according to the surveigh, but many of them which were not surveighed, are accounted according to the rate they are let at at this present.

The loss of My Lord's estate, in plain rents, as also upon ordinary use, and use upon use, is as followeth:

The annual rent of My Lord's lands, viz. 22,393*l.* 10s. 1d. being lost for the space of 18 years, which was the time of his acting in the wars, and of his banishment, without any benefit to him, reckoned without any interest, amounts to 403,083*l.* But being accounted with the ordinary use at six in the hundred, and use upon use for the mentioned space of 18 years, it amounts to 733,579*l.*

But some perhaps will say, that if My Lord had enjoyed his estate, he would have spent it, at least so much as to maintain himself according to his degree and quality.

I answer; that it is very improbable My Lord should have spent all his estate, if he had enjoyed it, he being a man of great wisdom and prudence, knowing

well how to spend, and how to manage; for though he lived nobly before the time of the wars, yet not beyond the compass of his estate; nay, so far he would have been from spending his estate, that no doubt but he would have increast it to a vast value, as he did before the wars; where notwithstanding his hospitality and noble house-keeping, his charges of building came to about 31,000*l.*; the portion of his second daughter, which was 12,000*l.*; the noble entertainments he gave King Charles the First, one whereof came to almost 15,000*l.*, another to above 4000*l.*, and a third to 1700*l.* as hereafter shall be mentioned; and his great expences during the time of his being Governour to His Majesty that now is, he yet encreased his estate to the value of 100,000*l.* which is 5000 per annum, when it was by so much less.

But if any one will reckon the charges of his house-keeping during the time of his exile, and when he had not the enjoyment of his estate, he may substract the sum accounted for the payment of his debts, contracted in the time of his banishment, which went to the maintenance of himself and his family; or in lieu thereof, considering that I do not account all My Lord's losses, but onely those that are certainly known, he may compare it with the loss of his personal estate, whereof I shall make some mention anon, and he'll find that I do not heighten My Lord's losses, but rather diminish them; for surely the losses of his personal estate, and those I account not, will counterballance the charges of his house-keeping, if not exceed them.

Again, others will say, that there was much land sold in the time of My Lord's banishment by his sons, and feoffees in trust.

I answer, first, that whatsoever was sold, was first bought of the rebellious power: next, although they sold some lands, yet My Lord knew nothing of it, neither did he receive a penny worth for himself, neither of what they purchased, nor sold, all the time of his banishment till his return.

And thus much of the loss of My Lord's estate in rents: concerning the loss of his parks and woods, as much as is generally known, (for I do not reckon particular trees cut down in several of his woods yet standing) 'tis as follows:

1. Clipston-Park and woods cut down to the value of 20,000*l.*
2. Kirkby-Woods, for which My Lord was formerly proferr'd 10,000*l.*
3. Woods cut down in Derbyshire 8000*l.*
4. Red-lodge-Wood, Rome-wood and others near Welbeck 4000*l.*
5. Woods cut down in Staffordshire 1000*l.*
6. Woods cut down in Yorkshire 1000*l.*
7. Woods cut down in Northumberland 1500*l.*

The Total 45,000*l.*

The lands which My Lord hath lost in present possession are 2015*l.* per annum, which at 20 years purchase come to 40,300*l.*, and those which he hath lost in reversion, are 3214*l.* per annum, which at 16 years' purchase amount to the value of 51,424*l.*

The lands which My Lord since his return has sold for the payment of some of his debts, occasioned by the wars (for I do not reckon those he sold to buy others) come to the value of 56,000*l.* to which out of his yearly revenue he has added 10,000*l.* more, which is in all 66,000*l.*

Lastly, the composition of his brother's estate was

5000*l.* and the loss of it for eight years comes to 16,000*l.*

All of which, if summed up together, amounts to 941,303*l.*

These are the accountable losses, which my dear Lord and husband has suffered by the late civil wars, and his loyalty to his king and country. Concerning the loss of his personal estate, since (as I often mentioned) it cannot be exactly known; I shall not endeavour to set down the particulars thereof, onely in general give you are note of what partly they are:

1. The pulling down of several of his dwelling or mannor-houses.

2. The disfurnishing of them, of which the furniture at Bolsover and Welbeck was very noble and rich: out of his London-house at Clarkenwell, there were taken, amongst other goods, suits of linnen, viz. table-cloths, sideboard-cloths, napkins, etc., whereof one suit cost 160*l.* they being bought for an entertainment which My Lord made for their Majesties, King Charles the First, and the Queen, at Bolsover Castle; and of 150 suits of hangings of all sorts in all his houses, there were not above 10 or 12 saved.

Of silver-plate, My Lord had so much as came to the value of 3800*l.* besides several curiosities of cabinets, cups, and other things, which after My Lord was gone out of England, were taken out of his mannor-house, Welbeck, by a garison of the King's party that lay therein, whereof he recovered onely 1100*l.* which money was sent him beyond the seas, the rest was lost.

As for pewter, brass, bedding, linnen, and other houshold-stuff, there was nothing else left but some few old feather-beds, and those all spoiled, and fit for no use.

3. My Lord's stock of corn, cattel, etc., was very great before the warrs, by reason of the largeness and capacity of those grounds, and the great number of granges he kept for his own use; as for example, Barlow, Carkholston, Gleadthorp, Welbeck, and several more, which were all well manured and stockt. But all this stock was lost, besides his race of horses in his grounds, grange-horses, hackny-horses, mannage-horses, coach-horses, and others he kept for his use.

To these losses I may well and justly join the charges which My Lord hath been put to since his return into England, by reason they were caused by the ruines of the said warrs; whereof I reckon,

1. His law-suits, which have been very chargeable to him, more than advantagious.

2. The stocking, manuring, paling, stubbing, hedging, etc., of his grounds and parks; where it is to be noted, that no advantage or benefit can be made of grounds, under the space of three years, and of cattel not under five or six.

3. The repairing and furnishing of some of his dwelling-houses.

4. The setting up a race or breed of horses, as he had before the warrs; for which purpose he hath bought the best mares he could get for money.

In short, I can reckon 12,000*l.* laid out barely for the repair of some ruines, which My Lord could not be without, there being many of them to repair yet; neither is this all that is laid out, but much more which I cannot well remember; nor is there more but one grange stocked, amongst several that were kept for furnishing his house with provisions: as for other charges and losses, which My Lord hath sustained since his return, I will not reckon them, because my

design is onely to account such losses as were caused by the wars.

By which, as they have been mentioned, it may easily be concluded, that although My Lord's estate was very great before the wars, yet now it is shrunk into a very narrow compass, that it puts his prudence and wisdom to the proof, to make it serve his necessities, he having no other assistance to bear him up; and yet notwithstanding all this, he hath since his return paid both for himself and his son, all manner of taxes, lones, levies, assessments, etc., equally with the rest of His Majesties subjects, according to that estate that is left him, which he has been forced to take upon interest.

## THE THIRD BOOK

THUS having given you a faithful account of all My Lord's actions, both before, in, and after the civil warrs, and of his losses; I shall now conclude with some particular heads concerning the description of his own person, his natural humour, disposition, qualities, vertues; his pedigree, habit, diet, exercises, etc., together with some other remarks and particulars which I thought requisite to be inserted, both to illustrate the former books, and to render the history of his life more perfect and compleat.

### 1. OF HIS POWER

AFTER His Majesty King Charles the First, had entrusted My Lord with the power of raising forces for His Majesties service, he effected that which never any subject did, nor was (in all probability) able to do; for though many great and noble persons did also raise forces for His Majesty, yet they were Brigades, rather then well-formed armies, in comparison to My Lord's. The reason was, that My Lord, by his mother, the daughter of Cuthbert Lord Ogle, being allyed to most of the most ancient families in Northumberland, and other the northern parts, could pretend a greater interest in them, then a stranger; for they through a natural affection to My Lord as their own kinsman, would sooner follow him, and under his conduct sacrifice their lives for His Majesty's service, then any body else, well knowing, that by deserting

My Lord, they deserted themselves; and by this means My Lord raised first a Troup of horse consisting of a hundred and twenty, and a regiment of foot; and then an army of eight thousand horse, foot and dragoons, in those parts; and afterwards upon this ground, at several times, and in several places, so many several troups, regiments and armies, that in all from the first to the last, they amounted to above 100,000 men, and those most upon his own interest, and without any other considerable help or assistance; which was much for a particular subject, and in such a conjuncture of time; for since armies are soonest raised by covetousness, fear and faction; that is to say, upon a constant and settled pay, upon the ground of terrour, and upon the ground of rebellion; but very seldom or never upon uncertainty of pay; and when it is as hazardous to be of such a party, as to be in the heat of a battel; also when there is no other design but honest duty; it may easily be conceived that My Lord could have no little love and affection when he raised his army upon such grounds as could promise them but little advantage at that time.

Amongst the rest of his army, My Lord had chosen for his own regiment of foot, 3000 of such valiant, stout and faithful men (whereof many were bred in the Moorish-grounds of the northern parts) that they were ready to die at My Lord's feet, and never gave over, whensoever they were engaged in action, until they had either conquered the enemy, or lost their lives. They were called White-coats, for this following reason: My Lord being resolved to give them new liveries, and there being not red cloth enough to be had, took up so much of white as would serve to cloath them, desiring withal, their patience until he

had got it dyed; but they impatient of stay, requested My Lord, that he would be pleased to let them have it un-dyed as it was, promising they themselves would die it in the enemies blood: which request My Lord granted them, and from that time they were called White-coats.

To give you some instances of their valour and courage, I must beg leave to repeat some passages mentioned in the first book. The enemy having closely besieged the city of York, and made a passage into the mannor-yard, by springing a mine under the wall thereof, was got into the mannor-house with a a great number of their forces; which My Lord perceiving, he immediately went and drew 80 of the said White-coats thither, who with the greatest courage went close up to the enemy, and having charged them, fell pell-mell with the but-ends of their musquets upon them, and with the assistance of the rest that renewed their courage by their example, killed and took 1500, and by that means saved the town.

How valiantly they behaved themselves in the last fatal battel upon Hessom-moor near York, has been also declared heretofore; in so much, that although most of the army were fled, yet they would not stir, until by the enemies power they were overcome, and most of them slain in rank and file.

Their love and affection to My Lord was such, that it lasted even when he was deprived of all his power, and could do them little good; to which purpose I shall mention this following passage:

My Lord being in Antwerp, received a visit from a gentleman, who came out of England, and rendered My Lord thanks for his safe escape at sea; My Lord being in amaze, not knowing what the gentleman

meant, he was pleased to acquaint him, that in his coming over sea out of England, he was set upon by pickaroons, who having examined him, and the rest of his company, at last some asked him, whether he knew the Marquess of Newcastle? To whom he answered, that he knew him very well, and was going over into the same city where My Lord lived. Whereupon they did not onely take nothing from him, but used him with all civility, and desired him to remember their humble duty to their lord general, for they were some of his White-coats that had escaped death; and if My Lord had any service for them, they were ready to assist him upon what designs soever, and to obey him in whatsoever he should be pleased to command them.

This I mention for the eternal fame and memory of those valiant and faithful men. But to return to the power My Lord had in the late warrs: As he was the head of his own army, and had raised it most upon his own interest for the service of His Majesty; so he was never ordered by His Majesty's privy council (except that some forces of his were kept by his late Majesty (which he sent to him) together with some arms and ammunition heretofore mentioned) until His Highness Prince Rupert came from His Majesty, to join with him at the siege of York. He had moreover the power of coyning, printing, knighting, etc., which never any subject had before, when his soveraign himself was in the kingdom; as also the command of so many counties, as is mentioned in the first book, and the power of placing and displacing what governours and commanders he pleased, and of constituting what garisons he thought fit; of the chief whereof I shall give you this following list.

A Particular of the Principal Garisons, and the Governors of them, constituted by my Lord.

*In Northumberland*

Newcastle upon Tyne, Sir John Marley, Knight.
Tynmouth Castle and Sheilds, Sir Thomas Riddal, Knight.

*In the Bishoprick of Durham*

Hartlepool, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Lambton.
Raby-Castle, Sir William Savile, Knight and Baronet.

*In Yorkshire*

The city of York, Sir Thomas Glenham, Knight and Baronet; and afterwards when he took the field, the Lord Jo. Bellasyse.
Pomfret-Castle, Colonel Mynn, and after him Sir Jo. Redman.
Sheffield-Castle, Major Beamont.
Wortly-Hall, Sir Francis Wortley.
Tickhill-Castle, Major Mountney.
Doncaster, Sir Francis Fane, Knight of the Bath, afterwards Governour of Lincoln.
Sandal-Castle, Captain Bonivant.
Skipton-Castle, Sir John Mallary, Baronet.
Bolton-Castle, Mr. Scroope.
Hemsley-Castle, Sir Jordan Crosland.
Scarborough-Castle and town, Sir Hugh Chomley.
Stamford-Bridge, Colonel Galbreth.
Hallifax, Sir Francis Mackworth.
Tadcaster, Sir Gamaliel Dudley.
Eyrmouth, Major Kaughton.

*In Cumberland*

The city of Carlisle, Sir Philip Musgrave, Knight and Baronet.

Cockermouth, Colonel Kirby.

*In Nottinghamshire*

Newark upon Trent, Sir John Henderson, Knight; and afterwards, Sir Richard Byron, Knight, now Lord Byron.

Wyrton-House, Colonel Rowland Hacker.

Welbeck, Colonel van Peire; and after, Colonel Beeton.

Shelford-House, Col. Philip Stanhop.

*In Lincolnshire*

The city of Lincoln, first Sir Francis Fane, Knight of the Bath; secondly, Sir Peregrine Bartu.

Gainsborough, Colonel St. George.

Bullingbrook-Castle, Lientenant-Colonel Chester.

Beluoir-Castle, Sir Gervas Lucas.

*In Derbyshire*

Bolsover-Castle, Colonel Muschamp.

Wingfield Mannor, Colonel Roger Molyneux.

Staly-House, the now Lord Fretchwile.

A List of the General Officers of the Army

1. The Lord General, the now Duke of Newcastle, the noble subject of this book.

2. The Lieutenant-General of the Army; first the Earl of Newport, afterwards the Lord Eythin.

3. The General of the Ordnance, Charles Viscount Mansfield.

4. The General of the Horse, George Lord Goring.
5. The Colonel General of the Army, Sir Thomas Glenham.
6. The Major General of the Army, Sir Francis Mackworth.
7. The Lieutenant-General of the Horse, first Mr. Charles Cavendish, after him Sir Charles Lucas.
8. Commissary-General of Horse, first Colonel Windham, after him Sir William Throckmorton, and after him Mr. George Porter.
9. Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, Sir William Davenant.
10. Treasurer of the Army, Sir William Carnaby.
11. Advocate-General of the Army, Dr. Liddal.
12. Quarter-Master General of the Army, Mr. Ralph Errington.
13. Providore-General of the Army, Mr. Gervas Nevil, and after Mr. Smith.
14. Scout-Master-General of the Army, Mr. Hudson.
15. Waggon-Master-General of the Army, Baptist Johnson.

William Lord Widdrington was President of the Council of War, and Commander-in-Chief of the three counties of Lincoln, Rutland and Nottingham, and the forces there.

When My Lord marched with his army to Newcastle against the Scots, then the Lord John Bellassis was constituted Governour of York, and Commander-in-Chief, or Lieutenant-General of Yorkshire.

As for the rest of the officers and commanders of every particular regiment and company, they being too numerous, cannot well be remembred, and therefore I shall give you no particular accompt of them.

## 2. Of His Misfortunes and Obstructions

Although Nature had favoured My Lord, and endued him with the best qualities and perfections she could inspire into his soul; yet fortune hath ever been such an inveterate enemy to him, that she invented all the spight and malice against him that lay in her power; and notwithstanding his prudent counsels and designs, cast such obstructions in his way, that he seldom proved successful but where he acted in person. And since I am not ignorant that this unjust and partial age is apt to suppress the worth of meritorious persons, and that many will endeavour to obscure My Lord's noble actions and fame, by casting unjust aspersions upon him, and laying (either out of ignorance or malice) Fortune's envy to his charge, I have purposed to represent these obstructions which conspired to render his good intentions and endeavours ineffectual, and at last did work his ruine and destruction, in these following particulars.

1. At the time when the kingdom became so infatuated, as to oppose and pull down their gracious king and soveraign, the Treasury was exhausted, and no sufficient means to raise and maintain armies to reduce His Majesties rebellious subjects; so that My Lord had little to begin withal but what his own estate would allow, and his interest procure him.

2. When his late Majesty, in the beginning of the unhappy wars, sent My Lord to Hull, the strongest place in the kingdom, where the magazine of arms and ammunition was kept, and he by his prudence had gained it to His Majesties service; My Lord was left to the mercy of the parliament, where he had surely suffered for it (though he acted not without His Majesties commission) if some of the contrary

party had not quitted him, in hopes to gain him on their side.

3. After His Majesty had sent My Lord to Newcastle upon Tyne, to take upon him the Government of that place, and he had raised there, of friends and tenants, a troup of horse and regiment of foot, which he ordered to conveigh some arms and ammunition to His Majesty, sent by the Queen out of Holland; His Majesty was pleased to keep the same convoy with him to encrease his own forces, which although it was but of a small number, yet at that present time it would have been very serviceable to My Lord, he having then but begun to raise forces.

4. When Her Majesty the now Queen-Mother, after her arrival out of Holland to York, had a purpose to conveigh some armes to His Majesty, My Lord ordered a party of 1500 to conduct the same, which His Majesty was pleased to keep with him for his own service.

5. After Her Majesty had taken a resolution to go from York to Oxford, where the King then was; My Lord for her safer conduct quitted 7000 men of his army, with a convenient train of artillery, which likewise never returned to My Lord.

6. When the Earl of Montross was going into Scotland, he went to My Lord at Durham, and desired of him a supply of some forces for His Majesties service; where My Lord gave him 200 horse and dragoons even at such a time when he stood most in need of a supply himself, and thought every day to encounter the Scottish army.

7. When My Lord out of the northern parts went into Lincoln and Derbyshires with his army, to order and reduce them to their allegiance and duty to His Majesty, and from thence resolved to march into

the associate counties, (where in all probability he would have made an happy end of the warr) he was so importuned by those he left behind him, and particularly the Commander-in-Chief, to return into Yorkshire, alledging the enemy grew strong, and would ruine them all, if he came not speedily to succour and assist them; that in honour and duty he could do no otherwise but grant their requests; when as yet being returned into those parts, he found them secure and safe enough from the enemies attempts.

8. My Lord (as heretofore mentioned) had as great private enemies about His Majesty, as he had publick enemies in the field, who used all the endeavour they could to pull him down.

9. There was such jugling, treachery, and falshood in his own army, and amongst some of his own officers, that it was impossible for My Lord to be prosperous and successful in his designs and undertakings.

10. My Lord's army being the chief and greatest army which His Majesty had, and in which consisted his prime strength and power; the parliament resolved at last to join all their forces with the army of the Scots (which when it came out of Scotland, was above twenty thousand men) to oppose, and if possible, to ruine it; well knowing, that if they did pull down My Lord, they should be masters of all the three kingdoms; so that there were three armies against one. But although My Lord suffered much by the negligence (and sometimes treachery) of his officers, and was unfortunately called back into Yorkshire, from his march he designed for the associate counties, and was forced to part with a great number of his forces and ammunition, as aforementioned; yet he would hardly have been overcome, and his army

ruined by the enemy, had he but had some timely supply and assistance at the siege of York, or that his counsel had been taken in not fighting the enemy then, or that the battel had been differed some two or three dayes longer, until those forces were arrived which he expected, namely three thousand men out of Northumberland, and two thousand drawn out of several garisons. But the chief misfortune was, that the enemy fell upon the King's forces before they were all put into a *Battallia*, and took them at their great disadvantage; which caused such a panick fear amongst them, that most of the horse of the right wing of His Majesty's forces, betook themselves to their heels; insomuch, that although the left wing (commanded by the Lord Goring, and my brother Sir Charles Lucas) did their best endeavour, and beat back the enemy three times, and My Lord's own regiment of foot charged them so couragiously, that they never broke, but died most of them in their ranks and files; yet the power of the enemy being too strong, put them at last to a total rout and confusion. Which unlucky disaster put an end to all future hopes of His Majesties party; so that My Lord seeing he had nothing left in his power to do His Majesty any further service in that kind (for had he stayed, he would have been forced to surrender all those towns and garisons in those parts, that were yet in His Majesties devotion, as afterwards it also happened) resolved to quit the kingdom, as formerly is mentioned.

And these are chiefly the obstructions to the good success of My Lord's designs in the late Civil Wars; which being rightly considered, will save him blameless from what otherwise would be laid to his charge; for, as according to the old saying, *'Tis easie for men to swim, when they are held up by the chin;* so on the

other side, it is very dangerous and difficult for them to endeavour it, when they are pulled down by the heels, and beaten upon their heads.

### 3. Of His Loyalty and Sufferings

I DARE boldly and justly say, that there never was, nor is a more loyal and faithful subject then My Lord: not to mention the trust he discharged in all those imployments, which either King James, or King Charles the First, or His now gracious master King Charles the Second, were pleased to bestow upon him, which he performed with such care and fidelity, that he never disobeyed their commands in the least; I will onely note,

1. That he was the first that appear'd in armes for His Majesty, and engaged himself and all his friends he could for His Majesties service; and though he had but two sons which were young, and one onely brother, yet they all were with him in the wars: his two sons had commands, but his brother, though he had no command, by reason of the weakness of his body, yet he was never from My Lord when he was in action, even to the last; for he was the last with My Lord in the field in that fatal battel upon Hessom-moor, near York; and though my brother, Sir Charles Lucas, desired My Lord to send his sons away, when the said battel was fought, yet he would not, saying, his sons should shew their loyalty and duty to His Majesty, in venturing their lives, as well as himself.

2. My Lord was the chief and onely person, that kept up the power of his late Majesty; for when his army was lost, all the King's party was ruined in all three of His Majesties kingdoms; because in his army lay the chief strength of all the royal forces; it being

the greatest and best formed army which His Majesty had, and the onely support both of His Majesties person and power, and of the hopes of all his loyal subjects in all his dominions.

3. My Lord was 16 years in banishment and hath lost and suffered most of any subject, that suffered either by war, or otherways, except those that lost their lives, and even that he valued not, but exposed it to so eminent dangers that nothing but Heaven's decree had ordained to save it.

4. He never minded his own interest more then his loyaltie and duty, and upon that account never desired nor received any thing from the Crown to enrich himself, but spent great sums in His Majesties service; so that after his long banishment and return into England, I observed his ruined estate was like an earthquake, and his debts like thunderbolts, by which, he was in danger of being utterly undone, had not patience and prudence, together with Heaven's blessings, saved him from that threatening ruine.

5. He never repined at his losses and sufferings, because he lost and suffered for his king and countrey; nay, so far was he from that, that I have heard him say, if the same warrs should happen again, and he was sure to lose both his life, and all he had left him, yet he would most willingly sacrifice it for His Majesties service.

6. He never connived or conspired with the enemy, neither directly nor indirectly; for though some person of quality being sent in the late wars to him into the north, from his late Majesty, who was then at Oxford, with some message, did withal in private acquaint him, that some of the nobility that were with the King, desired him to side with them against His Majesty, alledging that if His Majesty should

become an absolute conqueror, both himself and the rest of the nobility would lose all their rights and priviledges; yet he was so far from consenting to it, that he returned him this answer, namely, that he entered into actions of war, for no other end, but for the service of his king and master, and to keep up His Majesties rights and prerogatives, for which he was resolved to venture both his life, posterity and estate; for certainly, said he, the nobility cannot fall if the King be victorious, nor can they keep up their dignities, if the King be overcome.

This message was delivered by word of mouth, but none of their names mentioned; so that it is not certainly known whether it was a real truth or not; more probable it was, that they intended to sound My Lord, or to make, if possible, more division; for certainly not all that pretended to be for the King, were his friends; and I my self remember very well, when I was with Her Majesty, the now Queen-Mother in Oxford, (although I was too young to perceive their intrigues, yet I was old enough to observe) that there were great factions both amongst the courtiers and soldiers. But My Lord's loyalty was such, that he kept always faithful and true to His Majesty, and could by no means be brought to side with the rebellious party, or to juggle and mind his own interest more then His Majesties service; and this was the cause that he had as great private enemies at Court, as he had publick enemies in the field, who sought as much his ruine and destruction privately, and would cast aspersions upon his loyalty and duty as these did publickly oppose him.

In short, that it may appear the better what loyal and faithful services My Lord has done both for his late Majesty King Charles the First, and his now

gracious master King Charles the Second, I have thought fit to subjoin both their Majesties commendations which they were pleased to give him, when for his great and loyal services they confered upon him the titles and dignities of Marquess, and Duke of Newcastle.

A Copy of the Preamble of My Lord's Patent for Marquess, Englished.

Rex *&c.* Salutem.

*WHEREAS it appears to Us, That* William *Earl of* Newcastle *upon* Tyne, *besides his most Eminent Birth and splendid Alliances, hath equalled all those Titles with which he is adorned by Desert, and hath also wonne them by Virtue, Industry, Prudence, and a stedfast Faith: Whilest with dangers and expences gathering together Soldiers, Armes, and all other War-like Habiliments; and applying them as well in Our Affairs, as most plentifully sending them to Us, (having forethought of Our Dignity and security) he was ready with Us in all Actions in* York-shire, *and governed the Town of* Newcastle, *and Castle in the mouth of* Tyne, *at the time of that fatal Revolt of the People who were got together; and with a Bond of his Friends did opportunely seize that Port, and settled it a Garison; bringing Armes to Us (then Our onely relief:) In which Service so strongly going on, (which was of grand moment to our affairs) We do gratefully remember him still to have stood to: Afterwards, having Mustered together a good Army, (Our self being gone else-where) the Rebels now enjoying almost all* York-shire, *and the chiefest Fortress of all the Country now appearing to have scarce refuge or safety for him against the swelling Rebels, (the whole Country then desiring and praying for his coming, that he might timely relieve them in their desperate condition).*

*And leading his said Army in the midst of Winter gave the Rebels Battel in his passage, vanquish'd them, and put them to flight, and took from them several Garisons, and places of Refuge, and restored Health to the Subjects, and by his many Victories, Peace and Security to the Countryes : Witness those places, made Noble by the death and flight of the Rebels : in Lincoln-shire,* Gainsborough *and* Lincoln; *in Derby-shire,* Chesterfield; *but in York-shire,* Peirce-bridge, Seacroft, Tankerly, Tadcaster, Sheffield, Rotheram, Yarum, Beverly, Cawood, Selby, Halifax, Leeds, *and above all,* Bradford; *where when the* Yorkshire- *and* Lancashire-*Rebels were united, and Battel oined with them ; when Our Army as well by the great numbers of the Rebels, as much more the badness of Our ground was so prest upon, that the Soldiers now seemed to think of flying ; He, their General, with a full Carier, commanding two Troops to follow him, broke into the very rage of the Battel, and with so much violence fell upon the right Wing of those Rebels, That those who were but now certain of Victory, turn'd their backs, and fled from the Conqueror, who by his Wisdom, Virtue and his own Hand, brought death and flight to the Rebels, Victory and Glory to Himself, Plunder to the Soldiery, and 22 great Guns, and many Ensigns to Us. Nor was there before this, wanting to so much Virtue, equal Felicity, for Our most beloved Consort, after a dismal Tempest coming from* Holland, *being drove ashore at* Burlington, *and undergoing a more grievous danger, by the excursions of the Rebels, then the tossing and tumbling of the Sea ; He having heard of it, speedily goes to Her with his Army, and dutifully receiveth Her, in safety brings her, and with all security conducts her to Us at* Oxford. *Whereas therefore the aforesaid Earl hath raised so many Monuments of His Virtue and*

*Fidelity* towards *Us, Our Queen, Children, and Our Kingdom; when also he doth at this time establish with safety, and with His Power defend the northern parts of Our Kingdom against the Rebels; when lastly, nothing more concerns Mankind and Princes, and nothing can be more just, then that he may receive for his Deeds, a Reward suitable to his name, which requires that he who defends the Borders, should be created by Us,* Governour or Marquess of the Borderers. *Know therefore, &c.*

A Copy of the Preamble of My Lord's Patent for Duke, Englished.

Rex *&c.* Salutem.

*WHEREAS Our most beloved and faithful Cousin and Counsellor,* William *Earl and Marquess of* Newcastle *upon* Tyne, &c. *worthy of his famous Name, Blood and Office, of large Honours, has been eminent in so many, and so great Services performed to Us and Our Father (of ever blessed memory) that his Merits are still producing new effects, We have decreed likewise to add more Honour to his former. And though these his such eminent Actions, which he hath faithfully and valiantly performed to Us, Our Father, and Our Kingdom, speak loud enough in themselves; yet since the valiant services of a good Subject are always pleasant to remember, We have thought fit to have them in part related for a good Example and Encouragement to Virtue.*

*The great proofs of his Wisdom and Piety are sufficiently known to Us from Our younger years, and We shall alwayes retain a sense of those good Principles he instilled into Us; the care of Our Youth which he happily undertook for Our good, he as faithfully and well discharged. Our years growing up amidst bad Times, and the harsh Necessities of Warr, a new Charge*

*and Care of Loyaltie, the Kingdom and Religion call'd him off to make use of his further Diligence and Valour. Rebellion spread abroad, he levied Loyal Forces in great numbers, opposed the Enemy, won so many and so great Victories in the Field, took in so many Towns, Castles, and Garisons, as well in Our Northern parts, as elsewhere; and behaved himself with so great Courage and Valour in the defending also what he had got, especially at the Siege of* York, *which he maintain'd against three Potent Armies of* Scots *and* English, *closely beleaguering, and with emulation assaulting it for three Months (till Relief was brought) to the wonder and envy of the Enemy; that, if Loyal and Humane Force could have prevailed, he had soon restored Fidelity, Peace and his KING to the Nation, which was then hurrying to Ruine by an unhappy Fate; So that Rebellion getting the upper hand, and no place being left for him to act further valiantly in, for his King and Countrey, he still retain'd the same Loyalty and Valour in suffering, being an inseparable Follower of Our Exile; during which sad Catastrophe, his whole Estate was sequestred and sold from him, and his Person alwayes one of the first of those few who were excepted both for Life and Estate (which was offer'd to all others). Besides, his Virtues are accompanied with a Noble Blood, being of a Family by each Stock equally adorn'd and endow'd with great Honours and Riches. For which Reasons We have resolv'd to grace the said Marquess with a new Mark of our Favour, he being every way deserving of it, as one who lov'd vertue equal to his Noble Birth, and possess'd Patrimonies suitable to both, as long as loyalty had any place to shew it self in our Realm; which possessions he so well employ'd, and at last for Us and Our Fathers service lost, till he was with Us restor'd. Know therefore,* &c.

### 4. Of his Prudence and Wisdom

My Lord's prudence and wisdom hath been sufficiently apparent both in his publick and private actions and imployments; for he hath such a natural inspection, and judicious observation of things, that he sees beforehand what will come to pass, and orders his affairs accordingly. To which purpose I cannot but mention, that Laud, the then Archbishop of Canterbury, between whom and My Lord, interceded a great and intire friendship, which he confirmed by a legacy of a diamond, to the value of 200*l.* left to My Lord when he died, which was much for him to bequeath; for though he was a great statesman, and in favour with his late Majesty, yet he was not covetous to hoard up wealth, but bestowed it rather upon the publick, repairing the Cathedral of St. Paul's in London, which, had God granted him life, he would certainly have beautified, and rendered as famous and glorious as any in Christendom: this said Archbishop was pleased to tell his late Majesty, that My Lord was one of the wisest and prudentest persons that ever he was acquainted with.

For further proof, I cannot pass by that My Lord told his late Majesty King Charles the First, and Her Majesty the now Queen-Mother, some time before the wars, that he observed by the humours of the people, the approaching of a civil war, and that His Majesties person would be in danger of being deposed, if timely care was not taken to prevent it.

Also when My Lord was at Antwerp, the Marquess of Montross, before he went into Scotland, gave My Lord a visit, and acquainted him with his intended journey, asking My Lord whether he was not also

going for England? My Lord answered, he was ready to do His Majesty what service he could, and would shun no opportunity, where he perceived he could effect something to His Majesties advantage; nay, said he, if His Majesty should be pleased to command my single person to go against the whole army of the enemy, although I was sure to lose my life, yet out of a loyal duty to His Majesty, and in obedience to his commands, I should never refuse it. But to venture (said he) the life of my friends, and to betray them in a desperate action, without any probability of doing the least good to His Majesty, would be a very unjust and unconscionable act; for my friends might perhaps venture with me upon an implicite faith, that I was so honest as not to engage them without a firm and solid foundation; but I wanting that, as having no ships, armes, ammunition, provision, forts, and places of rendezvous, and what is the chief thing, money; to what purpose would it be to draw them into so hazardous an action, but to seek their ruine and destruction, without the least benefit to His Majesty? Then the Marquess of Montross asked My Lord's advice, and what he should do in such a case? My Lord answered, that he knowing best his own countrey, power and strength, and what probability he had of forces, and other necessaries for warr, when he came into Scotland, could give himself the best advice; but withall told him, that if he had no provision nor ammunition, armes and places of rendezvous for his men to meet and join, he would likely be forced to hide his head, and suffer for his rash undertaking: which unlucky fate did also accordingly befall that worthy person.

These passages I mention to no other end, but to declare My Lord's judgment and prudence in worldly

affairs; whereof there are so many, that if I should set them all down, it would swell this history to a big volume. They may in some sort be gathered from his actions mentioned heretofore, especially the ordering of his affairs in the time of warr, with such conduct, prudence and wisdom, that notwithstanding at the beginning of his undertaking that great trust and honourable employment which his late Majesty was pleased to confer upon him, he saw so little appearance of performing his designs with good success, His Majesty's revenues being then much weakened, and the magazines and publick purse, in the enemies power, besides several other obstructions and hindrances; yet as he undertook it chearfully, and out of pure loyalty and obedience to His Majesty; so he ordered it so wisely, that so long as he acted by his own counsels, and was personally present at the execution of his designs, he was always prosperous in his success. And although he had so great an army, as aforementioned, yet by his wise and prudent conduct, there appeared no visible sign of devastation in any of the countreys where he marched; for first, he settled a constant rule for the regular levy of money for the convenient maintenance of the soldiery. Next, he constituted such officers of his army, that most of them were known to be gentlemen of large and fair estates, which drew a good part of their private revenues, to serve and support them in their publick employments; wherein My Lord did lead them the way by his own good example.

To which may be added his wisdom in ordering the government of the Church, for the advancement of the orthodox religion, and suppression of factions; as also in coyning, printing, knighting, and the like, which he used with great discretion and prudence,

onely for the interest of His Majesty, and the benefit of the kingdom, as formerly has been mentioned.

The prudent mannage of his private and domestick affairs, appears sufficiently: 1. In his marriage. 2. In the ordering and increasing his estate before the wars, which notwithstanding his noble housekeeping and hospitality, and his generous bounty and charity, he increased to the value of 100,000*l.* 3. In the ordering his affairs in the time of banishment, where although he received not the least of his own estate, during all the time of his exile, until his return; yet maintained himself handsomely and nobly, according to his quality, as much as his condition at that time would permit. 4. In reducing his torn and ruined estate after his return, which beyond all probability, himself hath setled and ordered so, that his posterity will have reason gratefully to remember it.

In short; although My Lord naturally loves not business, especially those of state (though he understands them as well as anybody) yet what business or affairs he cannot avoid, none will do them better then himself. His private affairs he orders without any noise or trouble, not over-hastily, but wisely: neither is he passionate in acting of business, but hears patiently, and orders soberly, and pierces into the heart or bottom of a business at the first encounter; but before all things, he considers well before he undertakes a business, whether he be able to go through it or no, for he never ventures upon either publick or private business, beyond his strength.

And here I cannot forbear to mention, that my noble Lord, when he was in banishment, presumed out of his duty and love to his gracious master our now soveraign King Charles the Second, to write and

send him a little book, or rather a letter wherin he delivered his opinion concerning the government of his dominions, whensoever God should be pleased to restore him to his throne, together with some other notes and observations of foreign states and kingdoms; but it being a private offer to his sacred Majesty, I dare not presume to publish it.

### 5. Of his Blessings

Although My Lord hath been one of the most unfortunate persons of his rank and quality, which this later age did produce; yet Heaven hath been so propitious to him, that it bestowed some blessings upon him even in the midst of his misfortunes, and supported him against Fortune's malice, which otherwise, as it seems, had designed his total ruine and destruction: of these blessings I may name in the first place,

1. The royal favours of his gracious soveraign's, and the good esteem they had of his fidelity and loyalty; which as it was the chief of his endeavours, so he esteemed it above all the rest. To repeat them particularly would be too tedious, and they are sufficiently apparent out of the precedent history; onely this I may add, that King Charles the First, out of a singular favour to My Lord, was pleased upon his most humble request, to create several noble-men; the names of them, lest I commit an offence, I shall not mention, by reason most men usually pretend such claimes upon the ground of their own merit.

2. That God was pleased to bless him with wealth and power, to enable him the better for the service of his king and country.

3. That he made him happy in his marriage; (for his first wife was a very kind, loving and virtuous lady) and blessed him with dutiful and obedient children, free from vices, noble and generous both in their natures and actions; who did all that lay in their power to support and relieve My Lord their father in his banishment, as before is mentioned.

4. The kindness and civility which My Lord received from strangers, and the inhabitants of those places, where he lived during the time of his banishment; for had it not been for them, he would have perished in his extream wants; but it pleased God so to provide for him, that although he wanted an estate, yet he wanted not credit; and although he was banished and forsaken by his own friends and countrymen, yet he was civilly received and relieved by strangers, until God blessed him.

Lastly, with a happy return to his native country, his dear children, and his own estate; which although he found much ruined and broke, yet by his prudence and wisdom, hath ordered as well as he could; and I hope, and pray God to add this blessing to all the rest, that he may live long to encrease it for the benefit of his posterity.

## 6. Of his Honours and Dignities

The honours, titles and dignities which were conferred upon My Lord, by King James, King Charles the First, and King Charles the Second, partly as an encouragement for future service, and a reward for past, are following.

1. He was made Knight of the Bath, when he was but 15 or 16 years of age, at the creation of Henry, Prince of Wales, King James's eldest son.

2. King James created him Viscount Mansfield, and Baron of Bolsover.

3. King Charles the First constituted him Lord Lieutenant of Nottinghamshire, and

4. Lord Warden of the Forrest of Sherwood; as also

5. Lord Lieutenant of Derbyshire.

6. He chose him governour to his son Charles, our now gracious King; and

7. Made him one of his honourable privy council.

8. He constituted him governour of the town and county of Newcastle, and general of all His Majesties forces raised, and to be raised in the northern parts of England; as also of the several counties of Nottingham, Lincoln, Rutland, Derby, Stafford, Leicester, Warwick, Northampton, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Norfolk, Sussex, Essex and Hereford, together with all the appurtenances belonging to so great a power, as is formerly declared.

9. He conferred upon him the honour and title of Earl of Newcastle, and Baron of Bothal and Hepple.

10. He created him Marquess of Newcastle.

11. His Majesty King Charles the Second, was pleased, when My Lord was in banishment, to make him Knight of the most noble order of the Garter; and

12. After his return into England, chief justice in Eyre Trent-North.

13. He created him Duke of Newcastle, and Earl of Ogle.

## 7. Of the Entertainments he made for King Charles the First

Though My Lord hath alwayes been free and noble in his entertainments and feastings, yet he was pleased to show his great affection and duty to his gracious

King, Charles the First, and Her Majesty the Queen, in some particular entertainments which he made of purpose for them before the late warrs.

When His Majesty was going into Scotland to be crowned, he took his way through Nottinghamshire; and lying at Worksop-Mannor, hardly two miles distant from Welbeck, where My Lord then was, My Lord invited His Majesty thither to a dinner, which he was graciously pleased to accept of: this entertainment cost My Lord between four and five thousand pounds; which His Majesty liked so well, that a year after his return out of Scotland, he was pleased to send My Lord word, that Her Majesty the Queen was resolved to make a progress into the northern parts, desiring him to prepare the like entertainment for her, as he had formerly done for him: which My Lord did, and endeavoured for it with all possible care and industry, sparing nothing that might add splendour to that feast, which both their Majesties were pleased to honour with their presence: Ben Johnson he employed in fitting such scenes and speeches as he could best devise; and sent for all the gentry of the country to come and wait on their Majesties; and in short, did all that ever he could imagine, to render it great, and worthy their royal acceptance.

This entertainment he made at Bolsover-Castle in Derbyshire, some five miles distant from Welbeck, and resigned Welbeck for their Majesties lodging; it cost him in all between fourteen and fifteen thousand pounds.

Besides these two, there was another small entertainment which My Lord prepared for his late Majesty in his own park at Welbeck, when His Majesty came down, with his two nephews, the now Prince Elector

Palatine, and his brother Prince Rupert, into the Forrest of Sherwood; which cost him fifteen hundred pounds.

And this I mention not out of a vain-glory, but to declare the great love and duty My Lord had for his gracious King and Queen, and to correct the mistakes committed by some historians, who not being rightly informed of those entertainments, make the world believe falshood for truth. But as I said, they were made before the warrs, when My Lord had the possession of a great estate; and wanted nothing to express his love and duty to his soveraign in that manner; whereas now he should be much to seek to do the like, his estate being so much ruined by the late civil wars, that neither himself nor his posterity will be able so soon to recover it.

## 8. His Education

His education was according to his birth; for as he was born a gentleman, so he was bred like a gentleman. To school-learning he never shewed a great inclination; for though he was sent to the university, and was a student of St. John's Colledge in Cambridge, and had his tutors to instruct him; yet they could not perswade him to read or study much, he taking more delight in sports, then in learning; so that his father being a wise man, and seeing that his son had a good natural wit, and was of a very good disposition, suffered him to follow his own genius; whereas his other son Charles, in whom he found a greater love and inclination to learning, he encouraged as much that way, as possibly he could.

One time it happened that a young gentleman, one of My Lord's relations, had bought some land, at the

same time when My Lord had bought a singing-boy for 50*l.* a horse for 50*l.* and a dog for 2*l.* which humour his father Sir Charles liked so well, that he was pleased to say, that if he should find his son to be so covetous, that he would buy land before he was 20 years of age, he would disinherit him. But above all the rest, My Lord had a great inclination to the art of horsemanship and weapons, in which later, his father Sir Charles being a most ingenuous and unparallelled master of that age, was his onely tutor, and kept him also several masters in the art of horsemanship, and sent him to the mewse to Mons. Antoine, who was then accounted the best master in that art. But My Lord's delight in those heroick exercises was such, that he soon became master therof himself, which encreased much his father's hopes of his future perfections, who being himself a person of a noble and heroick nature, was extreamly well pleased to observe his son take delight in such arts and exercises as were proper and fit for a person of quality.

### 9. His Natural Wit and Understanding

Although My Lord has not so much of scholarship and learning as his brother Sir Charles Cavendish had, yet he hath an excellent natural wit and judgment, and dives into the bottom of every thing; as it is evidently apparent in the fore-mentioned art of horsemanship and weapons, which by his own ingenuity he has reformed and brought to such perfection, as never any one has done heretofore: and though he is no mathematician by art, yet he hath a very good mathematical brain, to demonstrate truth by natural reason, and is both a good natural and moral philosopher, not by reading philosophical books, but

by his own natural understanding and observation, by which he hath found out many truths.

To pass by several other instances, I'le but mention, that when My Lord was at Paris, in his exile, it happened one time, that he discoursing with some of his friends, amongst whom was also that learned philosopher Hobbes, they began amongst the rest, to argue upon this subject, namely, *Whether it were possible to make man by art fly as birds do;* and when some of the company had delivered their opinion, viz. That they thought it probable to be done by the help of artificial wings: My Lord declared, that he deemed it altogether impossible, and demonstrated it by this following reason: man's armes, said he, are not set on his shoulders in the same manner as bird's wings are; for that part of the arm which joins to the shoulder is in man placed inward, as towards the breast, but in birds outward, as towards the back; which different and contrary position or shape hinders that man cannot have the same flying-action with his armes, as birds have with their wings; which argument Mr. Hobbes liked so well, that he was pleased to make use of it in one of his books called *Leviathan*, if I remember well.

Some other time they falling into a discourse concerning witches, Mr. Hobbes said, that though he could not rationally believe there were witches, yet he could not be fully satisfied to believe there were none, by reason they would themselves confess it, if strictly examined.

To which My Lord answered, that though for his part he cared not whether there were witches or no; yet his opinion was, that the confession of witches, and their suffering for it, proceeded from an erroneous belief, viz. that they had made a contract with the

devil to serve him for such rewards as were in his power to give them; and that it was their religion to worship and adore him; in which religion they had such a firm and constant belief, that if any thing came to pass according to their desire, they believed the devil had heard their prayers, and granted their requests, for which they gave him thanks; but if things fell out contrary to their prayers and desires, then they were troubled at it, fearing they had offended him, or not served him as they ought, and asked him forgiveness for their offences. Also (said My Lord) they imagine that their dreams are real exterior actions; for example, if they dream they flye in the air, or out of the chimney top, or that they are turned into several shapes, they believe no otherwise, but that it is really so: and this wicked opinion makes them industrious to perform such ceremonies to the devil, that they adore and worship him as their God, and chuse to live and dye for him.

Thus My Lord declared himself concerning witches, which Mr. Hobbes was also pleased to insert in his fore-mentioned book; but yet My Lord doth not count this opinion of his so universal, as if there were none but imaginary witches; for he doth not speak but of such a sort of witches as make it their religion to worship the devil in the manner aforesaid. Nor doth he think it a crime to entertain what opinion seems most probable to him, in things, indifferent; for in such cases men may discourse and argue as they please, to exercise their wit, and may change and alter their opinions upon more probable grounds and reasons; whereas in fundamental matters both of Church and State, he is so strict an adherent to them, that he will never maintain or defend such opinions which are in the least prejudicial to either.

One proof more I'le add to confirm his natural understanding and judgment, which was upon some discourse I held with him one time, concerning that famous chymist Van Helmont, who in his writings is very invective against the school-men, and amongst the rest, accuses them for taking the radical moisture for the fat of animal bodies. Whereupon My Lord answered, that surely the school-men were too wise to commit such an error; for, said he, the radical moisture is not the fat or tallow of an animal, but an oily and balsamous substance; for the fat and tallow, as also the watery parts, are cold; whereas the oily and balsamous parts, have at all times a lively heat; which makes that those creatures which have much of that oyle or balsom, are long-lived, and appear young; and not onely animals, but also vegetables, which have much of that oyle or balsom, as ivy, bayes, laurel, holly, and the like, live long, and appear fresh and green, not onely in winter, but when they are old. Then I asked My Lord's opinion concerning the radical heat: to which he answered, that the radical heat lived in the radical moisture; and when the one decayed, the other decayed also; and then was produced either an unnatural heat, which caused an unnatural dryness; or an unnatural moisture, which caused dropsies, and these, an unnatural coldness.

Lastly; his natural wit appears by his delight in poetry; for I may justly call him the best lyrick and dramatick poet of this age: his comedies do sufficiently shew his great observation and judgment, for they are composed of these three ingredients, viz. wit, humour and satyre; and his chief design in them, is to divulge and laugh at the follies of mankind; to persecute vice, and to encourage virtue.

### 10. Of His Natural Humour and Disposition

My Lord may justly be compared to Titus the Deliciæ of Mankind, by reason of his sweet, gentle and obliging nature; for though his wisdom and experience found it impossible to please all men, because of their different humours and dispositions; yet his nature is such, that he will be sorry when he seeth that men are displeased with him out of their own ill natures, without any cause; for he loves all that are his friends, and hates none that are his enemies: he is a loyal subject, a kind husband, a loving father, a generous master, and a constant friend.

His natural love to his parents has been so great, that I have heard him say, he would most willingly, and without the lest repining, have begged for his daily relief, so God would but have let his parents live.

He is true and just both in his words and actions, and has no mean or petty designs, but they are all just and honest.

He condemns not upon report, but upon proof; nor judges by words, but actions; he forgets not past service, for present advantage; but gives a present reward to a present desert.

He hath a great power over his passions, and hath had the greatest tryals thereof; for certainly he must of necessity have a great share of patience, that can forgive so many false, treacherous, malicious and ungrateful persons as he hath done; but he is so wise, that his passion never out-runs his patience, nor his extravagancies his prudence; and although his private enemies have been numerous, yet I verily believe, there is never a subject more generally beloved than he is.

He hates pride and loves humility; is civil to strangers, kind to his acquaintance, and respectful to all persons, according to their quality: he never regards place, except it be for ceremony: to the meanest person he'll put off his hat, and suffer every body to speak to him.

He never refuses any petition, but accepts them; and being informed of the business, will give a just, and as much as lies in him, a favourable answer to the petitioning party.

He easily pardons, and bountifully rewards; and always praises particular men's virtues, but covers their faults with silence.

He is full of charity and compassion to persons that are in misery, and full of clemency and mercy; in so much, that when he was general of a great army, he would never sit in council himself upon causes of life and death, but granted pardon to many delinquents that were condemned by his council of war; so that some were forced to petition him not to do it, by reason it was an ill president for others. To which My Lord merrily answered, that if they did hang all, they would leave him none to fight.

His courage he always shewed in action more then in words, for he would fight, but not rant.

He is not vain-glorious to heighten or brag of his heroick actions; witness that great victory upon Atherton-moor, after which he would not suffer his trumpets to sound, but came quietly and silently into the city of York, for which he would certainly have been blamed by those that make a great noise upon small causes; and love to be applauded, though their actions little deserve it.

His noble bounty and generosity is so manifest to all the world, that I should light a candle to the sun,

if I should strive to illustrate it; for he has no self-designs or self-interest, but will rather wrong and injure himself then others. To give you but one proof of this noble vertue, it is known, that where he hath a legal right to felon's goods, as he hath in a great part of his estate, yet he never took or exacted more then some inconsiderable share for acknowledgment of his right; saying, that he was resolved never to grow rich by other men's misfortunes.

In short, I know him not addicted to any manner of vice, except that he has been a great lover and admirer of the female sex; which whether it be so great a crime as to condemn him for it; I'le leave to the judgment of young gallants and beautiful ladies.

### 11. Of His Outward Shape and Behaviour

His shape is neat, and exactly proportioned; his stature of middle size, and his complexion sanguine.

His behaviour is such, that it might be a pattern for all gentlemen; for it is courtly, civil, easie and free, without formality or constraint; and yet hath something in it of grandure, that causes an awful respect towards him.

### 12. Of His Discourse

His discourse is as free and unconcerned, as his behaviour, pleasant, witty, and instructive; he is quick in reparties or sudden answers, and hates dubious disputes, and premeditated speeches. He loves also to intermingle his discourse with some short pleasant stories, and witty sayings, and always names the author from whom he hath them; for he hates to make another man's wit his own.

### 13. Of His Habit

He accouters his person according to the fashion, if it be one that is not troublesome and uneasie for men of heroick exercises and actions. He is neat and cleanly; which makes him to be somewhat long in dressing, though not so long as many effeminate persons are. He shifts ordinarily once a day, and every time when he uses exercise, or his temper is more hot than ordinary.

### 14. Of His Diet

In his diet he is so sparing and temperate, that he never eats nor drinks beyond his set proportion, so as to satisfie onely his natural appetite: he makes but one meal a day, at which he drinks two good glasses of small-beer, one about the beginning, the other at the end thereof, and a little glass of sack in middle of his dinner, which glass of sack he also uses in the morning for his breakfast, with a morsel of bread. His supper consists of an egg, and a draught of small-beer. And by this temperance he finds himself very healthful, and may yet live many years, he being now of the age of seventy-three, which I pray God from my soul, to grant him.

### 15. His Recreation and Exercise

His prime pastime and recreation hath always been the exercise of mannage and weapons; which heroick arts he used to practise every day; but I observing that when he had over-heated himself, he would be apt to take cold, prevailed so far, that at last he left the frequent use of the mannage, using nevertheless

still the exercise of weapons; and though he doth not ride himself so frequently as he hath done; yet he takes delight in seeing his horses of mannage rid by his escuyers, whom he instructs in that art for his own pleasure. But in the art of weapons (in which he has a method beyond all that ever were famous in it, found out by his own ingenuity and practice) he never taught any body, but the now Duke of Buckingham, whose guardian he hath been, and his own two sons.

The rest of his time he spends in musick, poetry, architecture and the like.

## 16. Of His Pedigree

Having made promise in the beginning of the first book, that I would join a more large description of the pedigree of my noble Lord and husband, to the end of the history of his life: I shall now discharge my self; and though I could derive it from a longer time, and reckon up a great many of his ancestors, even from the time of William the Conqueror, he being descended from the most ancient family of the Gernouns, as Cambden relates in his Britannia, in the description of Derbyshire; yet it being a work fitter for heralds, I shall proceed no further then his grandfather, and shew you onely those noble families which My Lord is allied to by his birth.

My Lord's grandfather by his father (as is formerly mentioned) was Sir William Cavendish, privy-counsellor and treasurer of the chamber to King Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, and Queen Mary; who married two wives; by the first he had onely two daughters; but by the second, Elizabeth, who was My Lord's grandmother, he had three sons and four

daughters, whereof one daughter died young. She was daughter to John Hardwick of Hardwick, in the county of Derby, Esq.; and had four husbands: The first was — Barlow, Esq.; who died before they were bedded together, they being both very young. The second was Sir William Cavendish, My Lord's grandfather, who being somewhat in years, married her chiefly for her beauty; she had so much power in his affection, that she perswaded him to sell his estate which he had in the southern parts of England (for he was very rich) and buy an estate in the northern parts, viz. in Derbyshire, and thereabout, where her own friends and kindred lived, which he did; and having there setled himself, upon her further perswasion, built a mannor-house in the same county, called Chattesworth, which, as I have heard, cost first and last above 80,000*l.* sterling. But before this house was finished, he died, and left six children, viz. three sons and three daughters, which before they came to be marriageable, she married a third husband, Sir William St. Loo, captain of the guard to Queen Elizabeth, and Grand Butler of England; who dying without issue, she married a fourth husband, George, Earl of Shrewsbury, by whom she left no issue.

The children which she had by her second husband, Sir William Cavendish, being grown marriageable; the eldest son Henry married Grace the youngest daughter of his father-in-law, the said George Earl of Shrewsbury, which he had by his former wife Gertrude, daughter of Thomas Manners, Earl of Rutland, but died without issue.

The second son William, after Earl of Devonshire, had two wives; the first was an heiress by whom he had children, but all died save one son, whose name

was also William, Earl of Devonshire: his second wife was widdow to Sir Edward Wortly, who had several children by her first husband, and but one son by the said Will. Cavendish, after Earl of Devonshire, who dyed young.

His son by his first wife (William Earl of Devonshire) married Christian, daughter of Edward Lord Bruce, a Scotsman, by whom he had two sons, and one daughter; the eldest son William, now Earl of Devonshire, married Elizabeth, the second daughter of William Earl of Salisbury, by whom he has three children, viz. two sons and one daughter, whereof the eldest son William is married to the second daughter of James now Duke of Ormond; the second son Charles is yet a youth: the daughter Anne married the Lord Rich, the onely son and child to Charles now Earl of Warwick; but he dyed without issue.

The second son of William Earl of Devonshire, and brother to the now Earl of Devonshire, was unfortunately slain in the late civil warrs, as is before mentioned.

The daughter of the said William Earl of Devonshire, sister to the now Earl of Devonshire, married Robert Lord Rich, eldest son to Robert Earl of Warwick, by whom she had but one son, who married, but dyed without issue.

The third and youngest son of Sir William Cavendish, Charles Cavendish (My Lord's father) had two wives; the first was daughter and coheir to Sir Thomas Kidson, who dyed a year after her marriage, without issue: the second was the younger daughter of Cuthbert Lord Ogle, and after her elder and onely sister Jane, wife to Edward Earl of Shrewsbury, who dyed without issue, became heir to her father's estate

and title; by whom he had three sons; whereof the eldest dyed in his infancy; the second was William, my dear Lord and husband; the third, Charles, who dyed a batchelour about the age of sixty-three.

My Lord hath had two wives; the first was Elizabeth, daughter and heir to William Basset of Bloore, in the county of Stafford, Esq.; and widow to Henry Howard, younger son to Thomas Earl of Suffolk; by whom he had ten children, viz. six sons, and four daughters; whereof five, viz. four sons, and one daughter, dyed young; the rest, viz. two sons and three daughters, came to be married.

His elder son, Charles, Viscount of Mansfield, married the eldest daughter and heir of Mr. Richard Rogers, by whom he had but one daughter, who dyed soon after her birth; and he dyed also without any other issue.

His second son Henry, now Earl of Ogle, married Francis the eldest daughter of Mr. William Pierrepont, by whom he hath had three sons, and four daughters; two sons were born before their natural time; the third, Henry Lord Mansfield, is alive: the four daughters are, the Lady Elizabeth, Lady Frances, Lady Margaret, and Lady Catherine.

My Lord's three daughters were thus married; the eldest, Lady Jane, married Charles Cheiney, Esq.; descended of a very noble and ancient family; by whom she hath one son and two daughters. The second, Lady Elizabeth, married John now Earl of Bridgwater, then Lord Brackly, and eldest son to John then Earl of Bridgwater; who died in childbed, and left five sons, and one daughter, whereof the eldest son, John Lord Brackly, married the Lady Elizabeth, onely daughter and child to James then Earl of Middlessex.

My Lord's third daughter, the Lady Frances, married Oliver Earl of Bullingbrook, and hath had no child yet.

After the death of My Lord's first wife, who died the 17th of April, in the year 1643, he married me, Margaret, daughter to Thomas Lucas of St. Johns, near Colchester, in Essex, Esquire; but hath no issue by me.

And this is the posterity of the three sons of Sir William Cavendish, My Lord's grandfather by his father's side; the three daughters were disposed of as followeth:

The eldest, Frances Cavendish, married Sir Henry Pierrepont of Holm Pierrepont, in the county of Nottingham, by whom she had two sons, whereof the first died young; the second, Robert, after Earl of Kingston upon Hull, married Gertrude, the eldest daughter, and co-heir to Henry Talbot, fourth son to George Earl of Shrewsbury, by whom he had five sons and three daughters, whereof the eldest son, Henry, now Marquess of Dorchester, hath had two wives; the first Cecilia, eldest daughter to the Lord Viscount Bayning, by whom he had several children, of which there are living onely two daughters; the eldest Anne, who married John Rosse, onely son to John now Earl of Rutland; the second, Grace, who is unmarried. His second wife was Catharine, second daughter to James Earl of Derby, by whom he has no issue living.

The second son of the Earl of Kingston, William, married the sole daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Harries, by whom he had issue five sons, and five daughters, whereof two sons and two daughters died unmarried: the other six are,

Robert the eldest, who married Elizabeth,

daughter and co-heir to Sir John Evelyne, by whom he has three sons, and one daughter. The second son George, and the third Gervas, are yet unmarried.

The eldest daughter of William Pierrepont, Frances, is married to My Lord's now onely son and heir, Henry Earl of Ogle, as before is mentioned.

The second, Grace, is married to Gilbert now Earl of Clare, by whom he hath issue, two sons, and three daughters.

The third, Gertrude, is unmarried.

The third son of the Earl of Kingston, Francis Pierrepont, married Elizabeth the eldest daughter of Mr. Bray, by whom he had issue, one son, and one daughter; the son, Robert, married Anne the daughter of Henry Murray, The daughter, Frances, married William Pagatt, eldest son of William Pagatt. (Paget.)

The fourth son of the Earl of Kingston, Gervase, is unmarried.

The fifth son, George Pierrepont, married the daughter of Mr. Jonas, by whom he had two sons unmarried, Henry and Samuel.

The three daughters of the said Earl of Kingston are, Frances the eldest, who was married to Philip Rowleston; the second, Mary, dyed young; the third, Elizabeth, is unmarried.

The second daughter of Sir William Cavendish, Elizabeth, married the Earl of Lennox, unkle to King James; by whom she had onely one daughter, the Lady Arabella, who against King James' commands (she being after him and his children, the next heir to the crown) married William, the second son to the Earl of Hereford; for which she was put into the tower, where not long after she dyed.

The youngest daughter Mary Cavendish, married Gilbert Talbot, second son to George Earl of Shrews-

bury; who after the decease of his father, and his elder brother Francis, who dyed without issue, became Earl of Shrewsbury; by whom she had issue, four sons and three daughters; the sons all dyed in their infancy, but the daughters were married.

The eldest Mary Talbot, married William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, by whom (some eighteen years after her marriage) she had one son, who dyed young.

The second daughter, Elizabeth, married Sir Henry Gray, after Earl of Kent (the fourth Earl of England) by whom she had no issue.

The third and youngest daughter Aletheia, married Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, the first Earl and Earl-Marshal of England; by whom she left two sons, James, who died beyond the seas without issue; and Henry, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Esme Stuart, Duke of Lennox; by whom he had issue, several sons, and one daughter; whereof the eldest son, Thomas (since the Restauration of King Charles the Second) was restored to the dignity of his ancestors, viz. Duke of Norfolk, next to the royal family, the first Duke of England.

And this is briefly the pedigree of my dear Lord and Husband, from his grandfather by his father's side; concerning his kindred and alliances by his mother, who was Katherine, daughter to Cuthbert Lord Ogle, they are so many, that it is impossible for me to enumerate them all, My Lord being by his mother related to the chief of the most ancient families of Northumberland, and other the northern parts; onely this I may mention, that My Lord is a Peer of the Realm, from the first year of King Edward the Fourth his reign.

## THE FOURTH BOOK

### Containing Several Essays and Discourses Gathered from the Mouth of My Noble Lord and Husband

*With some few Notes of mine own*

*I have heard My Lord say,*

I

That those which command the wealth of a kingdom, command the hearts and hands of the people.

II

That he is a great monarch, who hath a soveraign command over Church, laws and armes; and he a wise monarch, that imploys his subjects for their own profit (for their profit is his), encourages tradesmen, and assists and defends merchants.

III

That it is a part of prudence in a commonwealth or kingdom to encourage drayners; for drowned lands are onely fit to maintain and encrease some wild ducks, whereas being drained, they are able to afford nourishment and food to cattel, besides the producing of several sorts of fruit and corn.

IV

That without a well-ordered force, a prince doth but reign upon the courtesie of others.

V

That great princes should not suffer their chief cities to be stronger than themselves.

VI

That great princes are half-armed, when their subjects are unarmed, unless it be in time of foreign wars.

VII

That the prince is richest, who is master of the purse; and he strongest that is master of the armes; and he wisest that can tell how to save the one, and use the other.

VIII

The great princes should be the onely pay-masters of their soldiers, and pay them out of their own treasuries; for all men follow the purse; and so they'l have both the civil and martial power in their hands.

IX

That great monarchs should rather study men, then books; for all affairs or business are amongst men.

X

That a prince should advance foreign trade or traffik to the utmost of his power, because no state or kingdom can be rich without it; and where subjects are poor, the soveraign can have but little.

XI

That trade and traffick brings honey to the hive; that is to say, riches to the commonwealth; whereas other professions are so far from that, that they rather rob the commonwealth, instead of enriching it.

XII

That it is not so much unseasonable weather that makes the countrey complain of scarcity, but want of commerce; for whensoever commodities are cheap, it is a sign that commerce is decayed; because the cheapness of them shews a scarcity of money; for example, put the case five men came to market to buy a horse, and each of them had no more but ten pounds, the seller can receive no more then what the buyer has, but must content himself with those ten pounds, if he be necessitated to sell his horse; but if each one of the buyers had an hundred pounds to lay out for a horse, the seller might receive as much. Thus commodities are cheap or dear, according to the plenty or scarcity of money; and though we had mynes of gold and silver at home, and no traffick into foreign parts, yet we should want necessities from other nations, which proves that no nation can live or subsist well, without foreign trade and commerce; for God and nature have ordered it so, that no particular nation is provided with all things.

XIII

That merchants by carrying out more commodities then they bring in; that is to say, by selling more then they buy, do enrich a state or kingdom with money, that hath none in its own bowels; but what

kingdom or state soever hath mynes of gold and silver, there merchants buy more then they sell, to furnish and accommodate it with necessary provisions.

XIV

That debasing, and setting a higher value upon money, is but a present shift of poor and needy princes; and doth more hurt for the future, then good for the present.

XV

That foraign commerce causes frequent voyages; and frequent voyages make skilful and experienced seamen, and skilful seamen are a brazen wall to an island.

XVI

That he is the powerfullest monarch that hath the best shipping; and that a prince should hinder his neighbours as much as he can from being strong at sea.

XVII

That wise states-men ought to understand the laws, customes and trade of the commonwealth, and have good intelligence both of foraign transactions and designs, and of domestick factions; also they ought to have a treasury, and well-furnished magazine.

XVIII

That it is a great matter in a state or kingdom, to take care of the education of youth, to breed them so, that they may know first how to obey, and then how to command and order affairs wisely.

XIX

That it is great wisdom in a state, to breed and train up good states-men: as, first, to let them be some time at the universities: next, to put them to the Innes of Court, that they may have some knowledge of the laws of the land; then to send them to travel with some ambassador, in the quality of secretary; and let them be agents or residents in foraign countreys. Fourthly, to make them clerks of the signet, or council: and lastly, to make them secretaries of state, or give them some other employment in state-affairs.

XX

That there should be more praying, and less preaching; for much preaching breeds faction; but much praying causes devotion.

XXI

That young people should be frequently catechised, and that wise men rather then learned, should be chosen heads of schools and colledges.

XXII

That the more divisions there are in Church and State, the more trouble and confusion is apt to ensue; wherefore too many controversies and disputes in the one, and too many law-cases and pleadings in the other ought to be avoided and suppressed.

XXIII

That disputes and factions amongst statesmen, are forerunners of future disorders, if not total ruines.

XXIV

That all books of controversies should be writ in Latin, that none but the learned may read them, and that there should be no disputations but in schools, lest it breed factions amongst the vulgar; for disputations and controversies are a kind of civil war, maintained by the pen, and often draw out the sword soon after: also that all prayer-books should be writ in the native language; that excommunications should not be too frequent for every little and pretty trespass; that every clergy-man should be kind and loving to his parishioners, not proud and quarrelsome.

XXV

That ceremony is nothing in itself, and yet doth every thing; for without ceremony there would be no distinction neither in Church nor State.

XXVI

That orders and professions ought not to entrench upon each other, lest in time they make a confusion amongst themselves.

XXVII

That in a well-ordered state or government care should be taken lest any degree or profession whatsoever swell too big, or grow too numerous, it being not onely a hinderance to those of the same profession, but a burden to the commonwealth, which cannot be well if it exceeds in extreams.

XXVIII

That the taxes should not be above the riches of the commonwealth, for that must upon necessity breed factions and civil wars, by reason a general poverty united, is far more dangerous than a private purse; for though their wealth be small, yet their unity and combination makes them strong; so that being armed with necessity, they become outragious with despair.

XXIX

That heavy taxes upon farmes, ruine the nobility and gentry; for if the tenant be poor, the landlord cannot be rich, he having nothing but his rents to live on.

XXX

That it is not so much laws and religion, nor rhetorick, that keeps a state or kingdom in order, but armes; which if they be not imployed to an evil use, keep up the right and priviledges both of Crown, Church and State.

XXXI

That no equivocations should be used either in Church or law; for the one causes several opinions to the disturbance of men's consciences; the other long and tedious suits, to the disturbance of men's private affairs; and both to oftentimes ruine and impoverish the State.

XXXII

That in cases of robberies and murthers, it is better to be severe, then merciful; for the hanging of a few, will save the lives and purses of many.

XXXIII

That many laws do rather entrap, then help the subject.

XXXIV

That no martial law should be executed, but in an army.

XXXV

That the sheriffs in this kingdom of England have been so expensive in liveries and entertainments in the time of their sherifalty, as it hath ruined many families that had but indifferent estates.

XXXVI

That the cutting down of timber in the time of rebellion, has been an inestimable loss to this kingdom, by reason of shipping; for though timber might be had out of foreign countries that would serve for the building of ships, yet there is none of such a temper as our English oak; it being not onely strong and large, but not apt to splint, which renders the ships of other nations much inferior to ours; and that therefore it would be very beneficial for the kingdom, to set out some lands for the bearing of such oaks, by sowing of acorns, and then transplanting them; which would be like a storehouse for shipping, and bring an incomparable benefit to the kingdom, since in shipping consists our greatest strength, they being the onely walls that defend an island.

XXXVII

That the nobility and gentry in this kingdom, have done themselves a great injury, by giving away (out of a petty pride) to the commonalty, the power of

being juries and justices of peace; for certainly they cannot but understand, that that must of necessity be an act of great consequence and power, which concerns men's lives, lands and estates.

XXXVIII

That it is no act of prudence to make poor and mean persons governours or commanders, either by land or sea; by reason their poverty causes them to take bribes, and so betray their trust; at best, they are apt to extort, which is a great grievance to the people; besides, it breeds envy in the nobility and gentry, who by that means rise into factions, and cause disturbances in a state or commonwealth: wherefore the best way is to chuse rich and honourable persons (or at least, gentlemen) for such employments, who esteem fame and honourable actions, above their lives; and if they want skill, they must get such under-officers as have more then themselves, to instruct them.

XXXIX

That great princes should consider, before they make war against foreign nations, whether they be able to maintain it; for if they be not able, then it is better to submit to an honourable peace, then to make warr to their great disadvantage; but if they be able to maintain warr, then they'l force (in time) their enemies to submit and yield to what tearms and conditions they please.

XL

That, when a state or government is ensnarled and troubled, it is more easie to raise the common people to a factious mutiny, then to draw them to a loyal duty.

XLI

That in a kingdom where subjects are pt to rebel, no offices or commands should be sold; for those that buy, will not onely use extortion, and practice unjust wayes to make out their purchase, but be ablest to rebel, by reason they are more for private gain, then the publick good; for it is probable their principles are like their purchases.

But, that all magistrates, officers, commanders, heads and rulers, in what profession soever, both in Church and State, should be chosen according to their abilities, wisdom, courage, piety, justice, honesty and loyalty; and then they'l mind the public good, more then their particular interest.

XLII

That those which have politick designs, are for the most part dishonest, by reason their designs tend more to interest, then justice.

XLIII

That great princes should onely have great, noble and rich persons to attend them, whose purses and power may alwayes be ready to assist them.

XLIV

That a poor nobility is apt to be factious; and a numerous nobility is a burden to a commonwealth.

XLV

That in a monarchical government, to be for the King, is to be for the Commonwealth; for when head and body are divided, the life of happiness dies, and the soul of peace is departed.

XLVI

That, as it is a great error in a state to have all affairs put into gazettes (for it overheats the people's brains, and makes them neglect their private affairs, by over-busying themselves with state-business;) so it is great wisdom for a council of state to have good intelligences (although they be bought with great cost and charges) as well of domestick, as foreign affairs and transactions, and to keep them in private for the benefit of the commonwealth.

XLVII

That there is no better policy for a prince to please his people, then to have many holy-dayes for their ease, and order several sports and pastimes for their recreation, and to be himself sometimes spectator thereof; by which means he'l not onely gain love and respect from the people, but busie their minds in harmless actions, sweeten their natures, and hinder them from factious designs.

XLVIII

That it is more difficult and dangerous for a prince or commander to raise an army in such a time when the countrey is embroiled in a civil warr, then to lead out an army to fight a battel; for when an army is raised, he hath strength; but in raising it, he hath none.

XLIX

That good commanders, and experienced soldiers, are like skilfull fencers, who defend with prudence, and assault wth courage, and kill their enemies by art, not trusting their lives to chance or fortune;

for as a little man with skill, may easily kill an ignorant giant; so a small army that hath experienced commanders, may easily overcome a great army that hath none.

L

That gallant men having no employment for heroick actions, become lazy, as hating any other business; whereas cowards and base persons are onely active and stirring in times of peace, working ill designs to breed factions, and cause disturbances in a commonwealth.

LI

That there have been many questions and disputes concerning the governments of princes; as, whether they ought to govern by love, or fear? But the best way of government is, and has alwayes been by just rewards and punishments; for that state which cannot tell how and when to punish and reward, does not know how to govern, by reason all the world is governed that way.

LII

That if the ancient Britains had had skill, according to their courage, they might have conquered all the world, as the Romans did.

LIII

That it would be very beneficial for great princes to be sometimes present in courts of judicature, to examine the causes of their poor subjects, and find out the extortions and corruptions of magistrates and officers; by which glorious act they would gain much love and fame from the people.

LIV

That it would be very advantagious for subjects, and not in the least prejudicial to the soveraign, to have a general register in every county, for the entry of all manner of deeds, and conveyance of land between party and party, and offices of record; for by this means, whosoever buyes, would see clearly what interest and title there is in any land he intends to purchase, whereby he shall be assured that the sale made to him is good and firm, and prevent many lawsuits touching the title of his purchase.

LV

That there should be a limitation for law-suits; and that the longest suit should not last above two tearms, at length not above a year; which would certainly be a great benefit to the subjects in general, though not to lawyers; and though some politicians object, that the more the people is busie about their private affairs, the less time have they to make disturbance in the publick; yet this is but a weak argument, since law-suits are as apt to breed factions, as any thing else; for they bring people into poverty, that they know not how to live, which must of necessity breed discontent, and put them upon ill designs.

LVI

That power, for the most part, does more then wisdom; for fools with power, seem wise; whereas wise men, without power, seem fools; and this is the reason that the world takes power for wisdom; and the want of power for foolishness.

LVII

That a valiant man will not refuse an honourable duel; nor a wise man fight upon a fool's quarrel.

LVIII

That men are apt to find fault with each other's actions; believing they prove themselves wise in finding fault with their neighbours.

LIX

That a wise man will draw several occasions to the point of his design, as a burning-glass doth the several beams of the sun.

LX

That although actions may be prudently designed, and valiantly performed; yet none can warrant the issue; for fortune is more powerful than prudence, and had Cæsar not been fortunate, his valour and prudence would never have gained him so much applause.

LXI

That ill fortune makes wise and honest men seem fools and knaves; but good fortune makes fools and knaves seem wise and honest men.

LXII

That ill fortune doth oftener succeed good, then good fortune succeeds ill; for those that have ill fortune don ot so easily recover it, as those that have good fortune are apt to lose it.

LXIII

That he had observed, that seldom any person did laugh, but it was at the follies or misfortunes of of other men; by which we may judge of their good natures.

LXIV

I have heard My Lord say, that when he was in banishment, he had nothing left him, but a clear conscience, by which he had and did still conquer all the armies of misfortunes that ever seized upon him.

LXV

Also I have heard him say, that he was never beholding to Lady Fortune; for he had suffered on both sides, although he never was but on one side.

LXVI

I have heard him say, that his father one time, upon some discourse of expences, should tell him, *it was but just that Everyman should have his time.*

LXVII

I have heard My Lord say, that bold soliciting and intruding men, shall gain more by their importunate petitions, then modest honest men shall get by silence (as being loath to offend, or be too troublesome) both in the manner and matter of their requests: the reason is, said he, that great princes will rather grant sometimes an unreasonable suit, then be tired with frequent petitions, and hindered from their ordinary pleasures; and when I asked My Lord, whether the

grants of such importunate suits were fitly and properly placed? He answered, not so well as those that are placed upon due consideration, and upon trial and proof.

LXVIII

I have heard My Lord say, that it is a great error, and weak policy in a state, to advance their enemies, and endeavour to make them friends by bribing them with honours and offices, saying, they are shrewd men, and may do the state much hurt: and on the other side, to neglect their friends, and those that have done them great service, saying, they are honest men, and mean the state no harm: for this kind of policy comes from the heathen, who prayed to the devil, and not to God, by reason they supposed God to be good and would hurt no creature; but the devil they flattered and worshipped out of fear, lest he should hurt them: but by this foolish policy, said he, they most commonly encrease their enemies, and lose their friends; for first, it teaches men to observe that the onely way to preferment, is to be against the state or government: next, since all that are factious cannot be rewarded or preferred, by reason a state hath more subjects, then rewards or preferments, there must of necessity be numerous enemies; for when their hopes of reward fail them, they grow more factious and inveterate then ever they were at first: wherefore the best policy in a state or government, said My Lord, is to reward friends, and punish enemies, and prefer the honest before the factious; and then all will be real friends, and profer their honest service, either out of pure love and loyalty, or in hopes of advancement, seeing there is none but by serving the state.

LXIX

I have heard him say several times, that his love to his gracious master King Charles the Second, was above the love he bore to his wife, children, and all his posterity, nay to his own life: and when, since his return into England, I answered him, that I observed his gracious master did not love him so well as he loved him; he replied, that he cared not whether His Majesty loved him again or not; for he was resolved to love him.

LXX

I asking My Lord one time, what kind of fate it was, that restored our gracious King, Charles the Second, to his throne? He answered, it was a blessed kind of fate. I replied, that I had observed a perfect contrariety between the fortunes of His royal father, of blessed memory, and him; for as there was a division amongst the generality of the people, in the reign of King Charles the First, tending to his destruction; so there was a general combination and agreement between them in King Charles the Second his restauration; and as there was a general malice amongst the people against the father to depose him; so there was a general love for the son to enthrone him. My Lord answered, I had observed something, but not all; for, said he, there was a necessity for the people to desire and restore King Charles the Second; but there was no necessity to murder King Charles the First. For the kingdom being through so many alterations and changes of government, divided into several factions and parties, was at last hurried into such a confusion, that it was impossible in that manner to subsist, or hold out any longer; which

confusion having opened the people's eyes, the generality being tyred with the evil effects and consequences of their unsetled governments under unjust usurpers, and frightened with the apprehension of future dangers, began to call to mind the happy times, when in an uninterrupted peace they enjoyed their own, under the happy reign of their lawful soveraigns; and hereupon with an unanimous consent recalled and restored our now gracious King; which, although it was opposed by some factious parties, yet the generality of the people outweighed the rest; neither was the royal party wanting in their endeavours.

LXXI

Asking My Lord one time, whether it was easie or difficult to govern a state or kingdom? He answered me, that most states were governed by secret policy, and so with difficulty; for those that govern, are (at least, should be) wiser then the state or commonwealth they govern. I replied, that in my opinion, a state was easily governed, if their government was like unto God's; that is to say, if governours did reward and punish according to the desert. My Lord answered, I said well; but he added, the follies of the people are many times too hard for the prudence of the governour; like as the sins of men work more evil effects in them, then the grace of God works good; for if this were not, there would be more good then bad, which, alas, experience proves otherwise.

LXXII

Some gentlemen making a complaint to My Lord, that some he employed in His Majesty's affairs, were too hasty and overbusie. My Lord told them, that he

would rather chuse such persons for His Majesties service as were over-active, then such that would be fuller of questions then actions. The same he would do for his own particular affairs.

LXXIII

Some condemning My Lord for having Roman Catholicks and Scots in his army; he answered them, that he did not examine their opinions in religion, but looked more upon their honesty and duty; for certainly there were honest men and loyal subjects amongst Roman Catholicks, as well as Protestants; and amongst Scots as well as English. Nevertheless, My Lord, as he was for the King, so he was also for the Orthodox Church of England, as sufficiently appears by the care he took in ordering the Church-government, mentioned in the history. To which purpose, when My Lord was walking one time with some of his officers in the church at Durham, and wondered at the greatness and strength of the pillars that supported that structure; my brother, Sir Charles Lucas, who was then with him, told My Lord, that he must confess, those pillars were very great, and of a vast strength; but said he, your Lordship is a far greater pillar of the Church then all these: which certainly was also a real truth, and would have more evidently appeared, had Fortune favoured My Lord more then she did.

LXXIV

My Lord being in banishment, I told him, that he was happy in his misfortunes, for he was not subject to any state or prince. To which he jestingly answered, that as he was subject to no prince, so he was a prince of no subjects.

LXXV

In some discourse which I had with My Lord concerning princes and their subjects; I declared that I had observed great princes were not like the sun, which sends forth out of it self rays of light, and beams of heat; effects that did both glorifie the sun, and nourish and comfort sublunary creatures; but their glory and splendor proceeded rather from the ceremony which they received from their subjects. To which My Lord answered, that subjects were so far from giving splendor to their princes, that all the honours and titles, in which consists the chief splendor of a subject, were principally derived from them; for, said he, were there no princes, there would be none to confer honours and titles upon them.

LXXVI

My Lord entertaining one time some gentlemen with a merry discourse, told them that he would not keep them company except they had done and suffered as much for their king and country as he had. They answered, that they had not a power answerable to My Lord's. My Lord replied, they should do their endeavour according to their abilities: No, said they, if we did, we should be like your self, lose all, and get but little for our pains.

LXXVII

I being much grieved that My Lord for his loyalty and honest service had so many enemies, used sometimes to speak somewhat sharply of them; but he gently reproving me, said, *I should do like experienced seamen, and as they either turn their sails with the wind,*

*or take them down; so should I either comply with time, or abate my passion.*

LXXVIII

A soldier's wife, whose husband had been slain in My Lord's army, came one time to beg some relief of My Lord; who told her, that he was not able to relieve all that had been loyal to His Majesty; for said he my losses are so many, that if I should give away the remainder of my estate, my wife and children would have nothing to live on: she answered, that His Majesties enemies were preferred to great honours, and had much wealth: Then it is a sign (replied My Lord) that your husband and I were honest men.

LXXIX

A friend of My Lord's, complaining that he had done the State much service, but received little reward for it; My Lord answered him, that States did not usually reward past services; but if he could do some present service, he might perhaps get something; but (said he) those men are wisest that will be paid before-hand.

LXXX

I observing that in the late civil warrs, many were desirous to be employed in States affairs, and at the noise of warr, endeavoured to be commanders, though but of small parties, asked My Lord the reason thereof, and what advantage they could make by their employments? My Lord smilingly answered, that for the generality, he knew not what they could get, but danger, loss and labour for their pains. Then I asked him, whether generals of great armies were ever

enriched by their heroick exploits, and great victories? My Lord answered, that ordinary commanders gained more, and were better rewarded then great generals. To which I added, that I had observed the same in histories, namely, that men of great merit and power, had not onely no rewards, but were either found fault withall, or laid aside when they had no more business or employment for them; and that I could not conceive any reason for it, but that states were afraid of their power: My Lord answered, the reason was, that it was far more easie to reward under-officers, then great commanders.

LXXXI

My Lord having since the return from his banishment, set up a race of horses, instead of those he lost by the warrs, uses often to ride through his park to see his breed. One time it chanced when he went thorough it, that he espied some labouring-men sawing of woods that were blown down by the wind, for some particular uses; at which My Lord turning to his attendants, said, that he had been at that work a great part of his life. They not knowing what My Lord meant, but thinking he jested; I speak very seriously (added he) and not in jest; for you see that this tree which is blown down by the wind, although it was sound and strong, yet it could not withstand its force; and now it is down, it must be cut in pieces, and made serviceable for several uses; whereof some will serve for building, some for paling, some for firing, etc. In the like manner, said he, have I been cut down by the Lady Fortune; and being not able to resist so powerful a princess, I have been forced to make the best use of my misfortunes, as the chips of my estate.

LXXXII

My Lord discoursing one time with some of his friends, of judging of other men's natures, dispositions and actions; and some observing that men could not possibly know or judge of them, the events of men's actions falling out oftentimes contrary to their intentions; so that where they hit once, they failed twenty times in their judgments. My Lord answered, that his judgment in that point seldom did miss, although he thought it weaker than theirs: the reason is, said he, because I judge most men to be like my self; that is to say, fools; when as you do judge them all according to your self, that is, wise men; and since there are more fools in the world then wise men, I may sooner guess right then you: for though my judgment roves at random, yet it can never miss of errors; which yours will never do, except you can dive into other men's follies by the length of your own line, and found their bottom by the weight of your own plummet, for the depth of folly is beyond the line of wisdom.

Besides, said he, you believe that other men would do as you would have them, or as you would do to them, wherein you are mistaken, for most men do the contrary. In short, folly is bottomless, and hath no end; but wisdom hath bounds to all her designs, otherwise she would never compass them.

LXXXIII

My Lord discoursing some time with a learned doctor of divinity concerning Faith, said, that in his opinion, the wisest way for a man was to have as little faith as he could for this world, and as much as he could for the next world.

LXXXIV

In some discourse with My Lord, I told him that I did speak sharpest to those I loved best. To which he jestingly answered, that if so, then he would not have me love him best.

LXXXV

After My Lord's return from a long banishment, when he had been in the countrey some time, and endeavoured to pick up some gleanings of his ruined estate; it chanced that the widow of Charles Lord Mansfield, My Lord's eldest son, afterwards Duchess of Richmond, to whom the said Lord of Mansfield had made a joynture of 2000*l.* a year, died not long after her second marriage; for whose death, though My Lord was heartily sorry, and would willingly have lost the said money, had it been able to save her life; yet discoursing one time merrily with his friends, was pleased to say, that though his earthly king and master seemed to have forgot him, yet the King of Heaven had remembered him, for he had given him 2000*l.* a year.

# SOME FEW NOTES OF THE AUTHORESSE

I

It was far more difficult in the late civil wars, for My Lord to raise an army for His Majesties service, then it was for the Parliament to raise an army against His Majesty: not onely because the Parliament were many, and My Lord but one single person; but by reason a kingly or monarchical government was then generally disliked, and most part of the kingdom proved rebellious, and assisted the Parliament either with their purses or persons, or both; when as the army which My Lord raised for the defence and maintenance of the King, and his rights, was raised most upon his own and his friends' interest: for it is frequently seen and known by woful experience, that rebellious and factious parties do more suddenly and numerously flock together to act a mischievous design, then loyal and honest men to assist or maintain a just cause; and certainly 'tis much to be lamented, that evil men should be more industrious and prosperous then good, and that the wicked should have a more desperate courage, then the virtuous, an active valour.

II

I have observed, that many by flattering poets have been compared to Cæsar, without desert; but this I dare freely and without flattery say of MyLord, that though he had not Cæsar's fortune, yet he wanted

not Cæsar's courage, nor his prudence, nor his good nature, nor his wit; nay, in some particulars he did more then Cæsar ever did; for though Cæsar had a great army, yet he was first set out by the state or senators of Rome, who were masters almost of all the world; when as My Lord raised his army (as before is mentioned) most upon his own interest (he having many friends and kindred in the northern parts) at such a time when his gracious king and soveraign was then not master of his own kingdoms, he being overpowered by his rebellious subjects.

III

I have observed, that my noble Lord has always had an aversion to that kind of policy, that now is commonly practised in the world, which in plain tearms is dissembling, flattery and cheating, under the cover of honesty, love and kindness: but I have heard him say, that the best policy is to act justly, honestly and wisely, and to speak truly; and that the old proverb is true, *To be wise is to be honest:* for, said he, that man of what condition, quality or profession soever, that is once found out to deceive either in words or actions, shall never be trusted again by wise and honest men. But, said he, a wise man is not bound to take notice of all dissemblers, and their cheating actions, if they do not concern him; nay, even of those he would not always take notice, but chuse his time; for the chief part of a wise man is to time business well, and to do it without partiality and passion. But, said he, the folly of the world is so great, that one honest and wise man may be overpowered by many knaves and fools; and if so, then the onely benefit of a wise man consists in the satisfaction he finds by his honest and wise actions, and that he has done what

in conscience, honour and duty he ought to do; and all successors of such worthy persons ought to be more satisfied in the worth and merit of their predecessours, then in their title and riches.

IV

I have heard that some noble gentleman (who was servant to His Highness then Prince of Wales, our now gracious soveraign, when My Lord was governour) should relate, that whensoever My Lord by his prudent inspection and foresight did foretell what would come to pass hereafter; it seemed so improbable to him, that both himself and some others believed My Lord spoke extravagantly: but some few years after, his predictions proved true, and the event did confirm what his prudence had observed.

V

I have heard, that in our late civil warres there were many petty skirmishes, and fortifications of weak and inconsiderable houses, where some small parties would be shooting and pottering at each other; an action more proper for bandites or thieves, then stout and valiant soldiers; for I have heard My Lord say, that such small parties divide the body of an army, and by that means weaken it; whereas the business might be much easier decided in one or two battels, with less ruine both to the country and army: for I have heard My Lord say, that as it is dangerous to divide a limb from the body; so it is also dangerous to divide armies or navies in time of warr; and there are often more men lost in such petty skirmishes, then in set-battels, by reason those happen almost every day, nay every hour in several places.

VI

Many in our late civil-warres, had more title then power; for though they were generals, or chief commanders, yet their forces were more like a brigade, then a well-formed army; and their actions were accordingly, not set-battels, but petty skirmishes between small parties; for there were no great battels fought, but by My Lord's army, his being the greatest and best-formed army which His Majesty had.

VII

Although I have observed, that it is a usual custom of the world, to glorifie the present power and good fortune, and vilifie ill fortune and low conditions; yet I never heard that my noble Lord was ever neglected by the generality; but was on the contrary, alwayes esteemed and praised by all; for he is truly an honest and honourable man, and one that may be relied upon both for trust and truth.

VIII

I have observed, that many instead of great actions, make onely a great noise, and like shallow fords, or empty bladders, sound most when there is least in them; which expresses a flattering partiality, rather then honesty and truth; for truth and honesty lye at the bottom; and have more action then shew.

IX

I have observed, that good fortune adds fame to mean actions, when as ill fortune darkens the splendor of the most meritorious; for mean persons plyed with good fortune, are more famous then noble persons that are shadowed or darkened with ill fortune; so that fortune, for the most part, is fame's champion.

X

I observe, that as it would be a grief to covetous and miserable persons, to be rewarded with honour, rather then with wealth, because they love wealth, before honour and fame; so on the other side, noble, heroick and meritorious persons, prefer honour and fame before wealth; well knowing, that as infamy is the greatest punishment of unworthiness, so fame and honour is the best reward of worth and merit.

XI

I observe, that spleen and malice, especially in this age, is grown to that height, that none will endure the praise of any body besides themselves; nay, they'l rather praise the wicked then the good; the coward rather then the valiant; the miserable then the generous; the traytor, then the loyal: which makes wise men meddle as little with the affairs of the world as ever they can.

XII

I have observed, as well as former ages have done, that meritorious persons, for their noble actions, most commonly get envy and reproach, instead of praise and reward; unless their fortunes be above envy as Cæsar's and Alexander's were; but had these two worthies been as unfortunate as they were fortunate, they would have been as much vilified, as they are glorified.

XIII

I have observed, that it is more easie to talk, then to act; to forget, then to remember; to punish, then to reward; and more common to prefer flattery before truth, interest before justice, and present service before past.

XIV

I have observed, that many old proverbs are very true, and amongst the rest, this: it is better to be at the latter end of a feast, then at the beginning of a fray; for most commonly, those that are in the beginning of a fray, get but little of the feast, and those that have undergone the greatest dangers, have least of the spoils.

XV

I have observed, that favours of great princes make men often thought meritorious; whereas without them they would be esteemed but as ordinary persons.

XVI

I observe, that in other kingdoms or countries, to be the chief governour of a province, is not onely a place of honour, but much profit; for they have a great revenue to themselves; whereas in England, the lieutenancy of a county is barely a title of honour, without profit; except it be the lieutenancy or government of the kingdom of Ireland; especially since the late Earl of Stafford enjoyed that dignity, who setled that kingdom very wisely both for militia and trade.

XVII

I have observed, that those that meddle least in wars, whether civil or foreign, are not onely most safe and free from danger, but most secure from losses; and though heroick persons esteem fame before life, yet many there are, that think the wisest way is to be a spectator, rather then an actor, unless they be necessitated to it; for it is better, say they, to sit on the stool of quiet, then in the chair of troublesome business.

# MEMOIRS OF MARGARET, DUCHESS OF NEWCASTLE

## A TRUE RELATION OF MY BIRTH, BREEDING, AND LIFE

# MEMOIRS OF MARGARET, DUCHESS OF NEWCASTLE

## AN EPISTLE

I HAVE heard, that some should say my wit seemed as if it would overpower my brain, especially when it works upon philosophical opinions. I am obliged to them for judging my wit stronger than my brain: but I should be sorry they should think my wit stronger than my reason: but I must tell them, that my brain is stronger than my wit, and that my reason is as strong as the effeminate sex requires.

Again, I have heard some should say, that my writings are none of my own, because when some have visited me, though seldome I receive visits, they have not heard me speak of them, or repeat some of the chapters or verses: but I believe, if they should desire the best orator to repeat his orations or sermons that he hath spoke *ex tempore*, he shall not do it, although but an hour's discourse: for I believe, Tully, who I have heard was an eloquent orator, yet could not repeat them over to his auditory. The same is in writers; for I do believe, Homer, as great and excellent poet, as it is said he was, could not repeat his poems by heart; nor Virgil, nor Ovid, or any other, nor Euclyd repeat his demonstrations, numerations, and the like, without book; nor Aristotle, who, I have heard, was a great philosopher, the explanation

of his opinions by heart; for I have heard that his memory failed in his writing, for that he hath sometimes contradicted himself: and My Lord, who hath written hundreds of verses, songs and theams, could not repeat three by heart; and I have heard him say, that after he hath writ them, he doth so little remember any part in them, that when they have lain a short time by, and then read them over, they are new to him: but he is not so forgetful of other things, for he hath an extraordinary memory for received curtesies, or to do any timely good or services, not onely to friends, but to strangers. Also, he hath an excellent memory concerning the general actions of and in the world; but certainly they that remember their own wit least, have the most of it; for there is an old saying, and surely true, that the best wits have the worst memory, I mean, wit-memory; for great memories are like standing ponds that are made with rain; so that memory is nothing but the showers of other men's wits; and these brains are muddy that have not running springs of their own, that issue out still fresh and new.

Indeed it's against Nature, for natural wits to remember, for it is impossible the brain should retain and create; and we see in Nature, death makes way for life; for if there were no death, there would be no new life, or lives.

But say I were so witless I could repeat some of my works, I do think it would seem self-conceitedness to mention them, but since that report, I have spoken more of them than otherwise I should have done, though truly I condemn myself, for it is an indiscretion, although I was forced to that indiscretion, and I repent it, both for the disfiguring of my works, by pulling out a piece here, and a piece there, according

as my memory could catch hold: also, for troubling, or rather vexing the hearers with such discourses they delight not in.

Besides, it hath been a long and a true observation that every one had rather speak than listen to what another sayes; insomuch as for the most part all mankinde run from company to company, not to learn, but to talk, and like bells, their tongues as the clappers keep a jangling noyse all at once, without method or distinction.

But I hope my indiscretion in speaking of my works to my hearers is not beyond a pardon, for I have not spoke of them, nor parts in them, much, nor often, nor to many, but to some particularly, as those I thought did understand poetry, or natural philosophy, or moral philosophy, though I fear not alwayes according as their capacities lay; for I have observed, some understand commonwealths, customes, lawes, or the like; others, the distinguishments of passions, and understand nothing of law; others, divinity, that understand nothing of temporal government, and so the like of many several studies; and some may have a rational capacity to most sciences, yet conceive nothing of natural philosophy, as if the first matter, or innated matter, or motions, or figures, or forms, or infinites, or spirits or essences, or the like: nay, for the most part they conceive little further than an almanack to know the time by, of which I am ignorant, for I understand it not. And for poetry, most laugh at it as a ridiculous thing, especially grave statists, severe moralists, zealous priesthood, wrangling lawyers, covetous hourders, or purloiners, or those that have mechanick natures, and many more, which for the most part account poetry a toy, and condemn it for a vanity, an idle imployment; nor have they so

much phancy of their own, as to conceive the poetical phancies of others; for if they did, they must needs love poetry: for poetry is so powerfull, and hath such an attractive beauty, that those that can but view her perfectly, could not but be enamoured, her charms do so force affection. But surely those that delight not in poetry or musick, have no divine souls, nor harmonious thoughts.

But by those weak observations I have made, I perceive, that as most men have particular understandings, capacities, or ingenuities, and not a general; so in their discourses, some can speak eloquently, and not learnedly; others learnedly, and not eloquently; some wittily and neither learned or eloquent; and some will speak neither learnedly, eloquently, wittily, or rationally. Likewise some can speak well, but 'tis but for a time, some a longer, and some a shorter time, like several sized candles, are longer or shorter ere they come to a snuff, where sometimes some objects or conceits, unexpected objections or questions, or the like, do prove as a small coal got into the tallow of their wit, which makes it bleer out sooner than otherwise it would do.

Also, some will speak wisely upon some subjects, and foolishly upon others.

Likewise, some will speak well as it were by chance; others in one discourse speak mixtly, now rational, then nonsently, at least weakly or obstructedly. But they are great masters of speech that speak clearly, as I may say, untangled, which can winde their words from off their tongue without a snarl or knot, and can keep even sense, like an even thread, or can work that thread of sense into a flourishing discourse, and they have a quick wit that can play with, or on any subject, which doubtless some can do of those things

they never heard, saw, or thought on, but just when they speak of it. And some have great capacities, as may be perceived in their discourse: but yet their speech is like those that are lame, which limp and halt, although the ground whereon they go is even, smooth, and firm. But some have such large capacities, elevated phancies, illuminated souls, and volubility of speech, that they can conceive, create, enlighten and deliver with that abundance, curiosity, facility and pleasure, as their conversible company is a heaven, where all worldly delights reside.

But to return to the ground of this epistle. I desire all my readers and acquaintance to believe, though my words run stumbling out of my mouth, and my pen draws roughly on my paper, yet my thoughts move regular in my brain, for the several tracks or paths that contemplation hath made on my brain, which paths or tracks are the several wayes my thoughts move in are much smoother than the tongue in my mouth, from whence words flow, or the paper on which my pen writes: for I have not spoke so much as I have writ, nor writ so much as I have thought; for I must tell my readers, that Nature, which is the best and curiosest worker, hath paved my brain smoother than custome hath oiled my tongue, or variety hath polished my senses, or art hath beaten the paper whereon I write; for my phancy is quicker than the pen with which I write, insomuch as it is many times lost through the slowness of my hand, and yet I write so fast, as I stay not so long as to make perfect letters.

But if they will not believe my books are my own, let them search the author or authoress: but I am very confident that they will do like Drake, who went so far about, untill he came to the place he first

set out at. But for the sake of after-ages, which I hope will be more just to me than the present I will write the true relation of my birth, breeding, and to this part of my life, not regarding carping tongues, or malicious censurers, for I despise them.

MARGARET NEWCASTLE.

# MEMOIRS OF THE DUCHESS

My father was a gentleman, which title is grounded and given by merit, not by princes; and 'tis the act of time, not favour: and though my father was not a peer of the realm, yet there were few peers who had much greater estates, or lived more noble therewith: yet at that time great titles were to be sold, and not at so high rates, but that his estate might have easily purchased, and was prest for to take; but my father did not esteem titles, unless they were gained by heroick actions; and the kingdome being in a happy peace with all other nations, and in itself being governed by a wise king, King James, there was no employments for heroick spirits; and towards the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, as soon as he came to man's estate, he unfortunately fortunately killed one Mr. Brooks in a single duel; for my father by the laws of honour could do no less then call him to the field, to question him for an injury he did him, where their swords were to dispute, and one or both of their lives to decide the argument, wherein my father had the better; and though my father by honour challenged him, with valour fought him, and in justice killed him, yet he suffered more then any person of quality usually doth in cases of honour; for though the laws be rigorous, yet the present princes most commonly are gratious in those misfortunes, especially to the injured: but my father found it not, for his exile was from the time of his misfortunes to Queen Elizabeth's death; for the Lord Cobham being

then a great man with Queen Elizabeth, and this gentleman, Mr. Brooks, a kind of a favourite, and as I take it brother to the then L. Cobham, which made Queen Elizabeth so severe, not to pardon him: but King James of blessed memory graciously gave him his pardon, and leave to return home to his native country, wherein he lived happily, and died peaceably, leaving a wife and eight children, three sons, and five daughters, I being the youngest child he had, and an infant when he died.

As for my breeding, it was according to my birth, and the nature of my sex; for my birth was not lost in my breeding, for as my sisters was or had been bred, so was I in plenty, or rather with superfluity; likewise we were bred virtuously, modestly, civilly, honourably, and on honest principles: as for plenty, we had not only for necessity, conveniency, and decency, but for delight and pleasure to a superfluity; 'tis true we did not riot, but we lived orderly; for riot, even in kings' courts and princes' palaces, brings ruin without content or pleasure, when order in less fortunes shall live more plentifully and deliciously then princes, that live in a hurlieburlie, as I may terme it, in which they are seldom well served, for disorder obstructs; besides, it doth disgust life, distract the appetites, and yield no true relish to the sences; for pleasure, delight, peace, and felicitie, live in method and temperance.

As for our garments, my mother did not only delight to see us neat and cleanly, fine and gay, rich and costly; maintaining us to the height of her estate but not beyond it; for we were so far from being in debt, before these warrs, as we were rather beforehand with the world; buying all with ready money, not on the score; for although after my

father's death the estate was divided between my mother and her sonns, paying such a sum of money for portions to her daughters, either at the day of their marriage, or when they should come to age; yet by reason she and her children agreed with a mutual consent, all their affairs were managed so well, as she lived not in a much lower condition than when my father lived. 'Tis true, my mother might have increast her daughters' portions by a thrifty sparing, yet she chose to bestow it on our breeding, honest pleasures, and harmless delights, out of an opinion, that if she bred us with needy necessitie, it might chance to create in us sharking quallities, mean thoughts, and base actions, which she knew my father as well as herself did abhor: likewise we were bred tenderly, for my mother naturally did strive to please and delight her children, not to cross or torment them, terrifying them with threats, or lashing them with slavish whips. But instead of threats reason was used to persuade us, and instead of lashes, the deformities of vice were discovered, and the graces and virtues were presented unto us, also we were bred with respectful attendance, every one being severally waited upon, and all her servants in generall used the same respect to her children (even those that were very young) as they did to herself; for she suffered not her servants, either to be rude before us, or to domineer over us, which all vulgar servants are apt, and ofttimes which some have leave to do; likewise she never suffered the vulgar serving-men to be in the nursery among the nursemaids, lest their rude love-making might do unseemly actions, or speak unhandsome words in the presence of her children, knowing that youth is apt to take infection by ill examples, having not the reason of distinguishing

good from bad, neither were we suffered to have any familiaritie with the vulgar servants, or conversation: yet caused us to demean our selves with an humble civillity towards them, as they with a dutifull respect to us, not because they were servants were we so reserved; for many noble persons are forced to serve through necessitie; but by reason the vulgar sort of servants are as ill bred as meanly born, giving children ill examples, and worse counsel.

As for tutors, although we had for all sortsof vertues, as singing, dancing, playing on musick, reading, writing, working, and the like, yet we were not kept strictly thereto, they were rather for formality then benefit, for my mother cared not so much for our dancing and fidling, singing and prating of severall languages, as that we should be bred virtuously, modestly, civilly, honourably, and on honest principles.

As for my brothers, of which I had three, I know not how they were bred. First, they were bred when I was not capable to observe, or before I was born; likewise the breeding of men were after different manner of ways from those of women; but this I know, that they loved virtue, endeavoured merit, practised justice, and spoke truth; they were constantly loyal, and truly valiant. Two of my three brothers were excellent soldiers, and martial discipliners, being practised therein, for though they might have lived upon their own estates very honourably, yet they rather chose to serve in the wars under the states of Holland, than to live idly at home in peace: my brother, Sir Thomas Lucas, there having a troop of horse; my brother, the youngest Sir Charls Lucas serving therein: but he served the states not long, for after he had been at the siege and taking of

some towns, he returned home again; and though he had the less experience, yet he was like to have proved the better soldier, if better could have been, for naturally he had a practick genius to the warlike arts, or arts of war, as natural poets have to poetry: but his life was cut off before he could arrive to the true perfection thereof. Yet he writ "A Treatise of the Arts in War," but by reason it was in characters, and the key thereof lost, we cannot as yet understand any thing therein, at least not so as to divulge it. My other brother, the Lord Lucas, who was heir to my father's estate, and as it were the father to take care of us all, is not less valiant then they were, although his skill in the discipline of war was not so much, being not bred therein, yet he had more skill in the use of the sword and is more learned in other arts and sciences then they were, he being a great scholar, by reason he is given much to studious contemplation.

Their practice was, when they met together, to exercise themselves with fencing, wrestling, shooting, and such like exercises, for I observed they did seldome hawk or hunt, and very seldom or never dance, or play on musick, saying it was too effeminate for masculine spirits. Neither had they skill, or did use to play, for ought I could hear, at cards or dice, or the like games, nor given to any vice, as I did know, unless to love a mistress were a crime, not that I know any they had, but what report did say, and usually reports are false, at least exceed the truth.

As for the pastimes of my sisters when they were in the country, it was to reade, work, walk, and discourse with each other; for though two of my three brothers were married, my brother the Lord Lucas to a virtuous and beautiful lady, daughter to Sir Christopher Nevil, son to the Lord Abergavenny,

and my brother Sir Thomas Lucas to a virtuous lady of an ancient family, one Sir John Byron's daughter; likewise, three of my four sisters, one married Sir Peter Killegrew, the other Sir William Walter, the third Sir Edmund Pye, the fourth as yet unmarried, yet most of them lived with my mother, especially when she was at her country-house, living most commonly at London half the year, which is the metropolitan city of England. But when they were at London, they were dispersed into several houses of their own, yet for the most part they met every day, feasting each other like Job's children. But this unnatural war came like a whirlwind, which felled down their houses, where some in the wars were crusht to death, as my youngest brother Sir Charls Lucas, and my brother Sir Thomas Lucas; and though my brother Sir Thomas Lucas died not immediately of his wounds, yet a wound he received on his head in Ireland shortened his life.

But to rehearse their recreations. Their customs were in winter time to go sometimes to plays, or to ride in their coaches about the streets to see the concourse and recourse of people; and in the spring time to visit the Spring-garden, Hide-park, and the like places; and sometimes they would have musick, and sup in barges upon the water; these harmless recreations they would pass their time away with. For I observed, they did seldom make visits, nor never went abroad with strangers in their company, but onely themselves in a flock together agreeing so well, that there seemed but one minde amongst them: and not onely my own brothers and sisters agreed so, but my brothers and sisters in law, and their children, although but young, had the like agreeable natures and affectionable dispositions; for to my best

remembrance I do not know that ever they did fall out, or had any angry or unkind disputes. Likewise, I did observe, that my sisters were so far from mingling themselves with any other company, that they had no familiar conversation or intimate acquaintance with the families to which each other were linkt to by marriage, the family of the one being as great strangers to the rest of my brothers and sisters, as the family of the other.

But sometime after this war began, I knew not how they lived; for though most of them were in Oxford, wherein the King was, yet after the Queen went from Oxford, and so out of Enlgand, I was parted from them; for when the Queen was in Oxford, I had a great desire to be one of her maids of honour, hearing the Queen had not the same number she was used to have, whereupon I wooed and won my mother to let me go; for my mother, being fond of all her children, was desirous to please them, which made her consent to my request. But my brothers and sisters seemed not very well pleased, by reason I had never been from home, nor seldome out of their sight; for though they knew I would not behave my self to their, or my own dishonour, yet they thought I might to my disadvantage, being unexperienced in the world, which indeed I did, for I was so bashfull when I was out of my mother's, brothers' and sisters' sight, whose presence used to give me confidence, thinking I could not do amiss whilst any one of them were by, for I knew they would gently reform me if I did; besides, I was ambitious they should approve of my actions and behaviour, that when I was gone from them, I was like one that had no foundation to stand, or guide to direct me, which made me afraid, lest I should wander with ignorance out of the waies of

honour, so that I knew not how to behave myself. Besides, I had heard that the world was apt to lay aspersions even on the innocent, for which I durst neither look up with my eyes, nor speak, nor be any way sociable, insomuch as I was thought a natural fool; indeed I had not much wit. Yet I was not an idiot, my wit was according to my years; and though I might have learnt more wit, and advanced my understanding by living in a court, yet being dull, fearfull, and bashfull, I neither heeded what was said or practiced, but just what belonged to my loyal duty, and my own honest reputation; and indeed, I was so afraid to dishonour my friends and family by my indiscreet actions, that I rather chose to be accounted a fool, then to be thought rude or wanton. In truth, my bashfulness and fears made me repent my going from home to see the world abroad, and much I did desire to return to my mother again, or to my sister Pye, with whom I often lived when she was in London, and loved with a supernatural affection: but my mother advised me there to stay, although I put her to more charges than if she had kept me at home, and the more, by reason she and my brothers were sequestered from their estates, and plundered of all their goods. Yet she maintained me so, that I was in a condition rather to lend then to borrow, which courtiers usually are not, being always necessitated by reason of great expences courts put them to. But my mother said, it would be a disgrace for me to return out of the court so soon after I was placed; so I continued almost two years, until such time as I was married from thence; for My Lord the Marquis of Newcastle did approve of those bashful fears which many condemned, and would choose such a wife as he might bring to his own humours,

and not such an one as was wedded to self-conceit, or one that had been tempered to the humours of another; for which he wooed me for his wife; and though I did dread marriage, and shunned men's companies as much as I could, yet I could not, nor had not the power to refuse him, by reason my affections were fixed on him, and he was the onely person I ever was in love with: neither was I ashamed to own it, but gloried therein. For it was not amorous love, I never was infected therewith, it is a disease, or a passion, or both, I only know by relation, not by experience; neither could title, wealth, power, or person entice me to love. But my love was honest and honourable, being placed upon merit, which affection joyed at the fame of his worth, pleased with delight in his wit, proud of the respects he used to me, and triumphing in the affections he profest for me, which affections he hath confirmed to me by a deed of time, sealed by constancy, and assigned by an unalterable decree of his promise; which makes me happy in despight of Fortune's frowns. For though misfortunes may and do oft dissolve base, wilde, loose, and ungrounded affections, yet she hath no power of those that are united either by merit, justice, gratitude, duty, fidelity, or the like; and though my Lord hath lost his estate, and banished out of his country for his loyalty to his king and country, yet neither despised poverty, nor pinching necessity could make him break the bands of friendship, or weaken his loyal duty to his king or country.

But not onely the family I am linkt to is ruined, but the family from which I sprung, by these unhappy wars, which ruine my mother lived to see, and then died, having lived a widow many years, for she never forgot my father so as to marry again. Indeed, he

remained so lively in her memory, and her grief was so lasting, as she never mentioned his name, though she spoke often of him, but love and grief caused tears to flow, and tender sighs to rise, mourning in sad complaints; she made her house her cloyster, inclosing herself as it were therein, for she seldom went abroad, unless to church; but these unhappy wars forced her out, by reason she and her children were loyall to the king; for which they plundered her and my brothers of all their goods, plate, jewels, money, corn, cattle, and the like, cut down their woods, pulled down their houses, and sequestered them from their lands and livings; but in such misfortunes my mother was of an heroick spirit, in suffering patiently where there is no remedy, or to be industrious where she thought she could help: she was of a grave behaviour, and had such a magestic grandeur, as it were continually hung about her, that it would strike a kind of an awe to the beholders, and command respect from the rudest; I mean the rudest of civilised people, I mean not such barbarous people as plundered her, and used her cruelly, for they would have pulled God out of Heaven, had they had power, as they did royaltie out of his throne: also her beauty was beyond the ruin of time, for she had a well-favoured loveliness in her face, a pleasing sweetness in her countenance, and a well-tempered complexion, as neither too red nor too pale, even to her dying hour, although in years, and by her dying, one might think death was enamoured with her, for he imbraced her in a sleep, and so gently, as if he were afraid to hurt her: also she was an affectionate mother, breeding her children with a most industrious care, and tender love, and having eight children, three sons and five daughters, there was not any one crooked, or any ways deformed,

neither were they dwarfish, or of a giant-like stature, but every ways proportionable; likewise well featured, cleer complexions, brown haires, but some lighter than others, sound teeth, sweet breaths, plain speeches, tunable voices, I mean not so much to sing as in speaking, as not stuttering, nor wharling in the throat, or speaking through the nose, or hoarsly, unless they had a cold, or squeakingly, which impediments many have: neither were their voices of too low a strain, or too high, but their notes and words were tuneable and timely: I hope this truth will not offend my readers, and lest they should think I am a partial register, I dare not commend my sisters, as to say they were handsome, although many would say they were very handsome: but this I dare say, their beautie if any they had, was not so lasting as my mother's, time making suddener ruin in their faces than in hers; likewise my mother was a good mistriss to her servants, taking care of her servants in their sickness, not sparing any cost she was able to bestow for their recovery: neither did she exact more from them in their health then what they with ease or rather like pastime could do: she would freely pardon a fault, and forget an injury, yet sometimes she would be angry; but never with her children, the sight of them would pacify her, neither would she be angry with others, but when she had cause, as with negligent or knavish servants, that would lavishly or unnecessarily waste, or subtily and thievishly steal, and though she would often complain that her family was too great for her weak management, and often prest my brother to take it upon him, yet I observe she took a pleasure, and some little pride, in the governing thereof: she was very skilful in leases, and setting of lands, and court-keeping, ordering of stewards, and the like

affairs, also I observed, that my mother, nor brothers, before these wars, had ever any law-suites, but what an attorney dispatched in a term with small cost, but if they had, it was more than I knew of. But, as I said, my mother lived to see the ruin of her children, in which was her ruin, and then dyed: my brother Sir Thomas Lucas soon after, my brother Sir Charles Lucas after him, being shot to death for his loyall service, for he was most constantly loyal and courageously active, indeed he had a superfluity of courage; my eldest sister died sometime before my mother, her death being, as I believe, hastened through grief of her onely daughter, on which she doted, being very pretty, sweet natured, and had an extraordinary wit for her age. She dying of a consumption, my sister, her mother, died some half a year after of the same disease; and though time is apt to waste remembrance as a consumptive body, or to wear it out like a garment into raggs, or to moulder it into dust; yet I find the naturall affections I have for my friends, are beyond the length, strength, and power of time: for I shall lament the loss so long as I live, also the loss of My Lord's noble brother, which died not long after I returned from England, he being then sick of an ague, whose favours and my thankfulness, ingratitude shall never disjoyne; for I will build his monument of truth, though I cannot of marble, and hang my tears and scutchions on his tombe. He was nobly generous, wisely valliant, naturally civill, honestly kind, truly loving, virtuously temperate; his promise was like a fixt decree, his words were destiny, his life was holy, his disposition milde, his behaviour courteous, his discourse pleasing, he had a ready wit and a spacious knowledge, a settled judgment, a cleer understanding, a rationall insight; he was learned in

all arts and sciences, but especially in the mathematicks, in which study he spent most part of his time; and though his tongue preacht not moral philosophy, yet his life taught it. Indeed he was such a person, that he might have been a pattern for all mankind to take: he loved My Lord his brother with a doting affection, as My Lord did him, for whose sake I suppose he was so nobly generous, carefully kind, and respectfull to me: for I dare not challenge his favours as to my self, having not merits to deserve them, he was for a time the preserver of my life, for after I was married some two or three years, My Lord travelled out of France, from the city of Paris, in which city he resided the time he was there, so went into Holland, to a town called Rotterdam, in which place he stayed some six months; from thence he returned to Brabant, unto the city of Antwerp, which city we past through, when we went into Holland, and in that city My Lord settled himself and family, choosing it for the most pleasantest, and quietest place to retire himself and ruined fortunes in. But after we had remained some time therein, we grew extremely necessitated, tradesmen being there not so rich as to trust My Lord for so much, or so long, as those of France; yet they were so civill, kind and charitable, as to trust him, for as much as they were able; but at last necessity inforced me to return into England to seek for reliefe; for I hearing My Lord's estate amongst the rest of many more estates was to be sold, and that the wives of the owners should have an allowance therefrom, it gave me hopes I should receive a benefit thereby; so being accompanied with My Lord's only brother Sir Charles Cavendish, who was commanded to return, to live therein, or to lose his estate, which estate he was

forced to buy with a great composition before he could enjoy any part thereof; so over I went, but when I came there I found their hearts as hard as my fortunes, and their natures as cruel as my miseries, for they sold all My Lord's estate, which was a very great one, and gave me not any part thereof, or any allowance thereout, which few or no other was so hardly dealt withall; indeed, I did not stand as a beggar at the Parliament doore, for I never was at the Parliamente House, nor stood I ever at the doore, as I do know, or can remember, I am sure, not as a petitioner, neither did I haunt the committees, for I never was at any, as a petitioner, but one in my life, which was called Gold-smiths'-hall, but I received neither gold nor silver from them, only an absolute refusall, I should have no share of My Lord's estate; for my brother the Lord Lucas did claim in my behalf such a part of My Lord's estate as wives had allowed them, but they told him, that by reason I was married since My Lord was made a delinquent, I could have nothing, nor should have any thing, he being the greatest traitor to the state, which was to be the most loyall subject to his king and country. But I whisperingly spoke to my brother to conduct me out of that ungentlemanly place, so without speaking to them one word good or bad, I returned to my lodgings, and as that committee was the first, so was it the last, I ever was at as a petitioner. 'Tis true I went sometimes to Drury House to inquire how the land was sold, but no other ways, although some reported I was at the Parliament House, and at this committee and at that committee, and what I should say, and how I was answered; but the customes of England being changed as well as the laws, where women become pleaders, attornies, petitioners and the like,

running about with their several causes, complaining of their severall grievances, exclaiming against their severall enemies, bragging of their severall favours they receive from the powerfull; thus trafficking with idle words bring in false reports and vain discourse; for the truth is, our sex doth nothing but justle for the preheminence of words, I mean not for speaking well, but speaking much, as they do for the preheminence of place, words rushing against words, thwarting and crossing each other, and pulling with reproches, striving to throw each other down with disgrace, thinking to advance themselves thereby. But if our sex would but well consider and rationally ponder, they will perceive and finde, that it is neither words nor place that can advance them, but worth and merit: nor can words or place disgrace them, but inconstancy and boldness: for an honest heart, a noble soul, a chaste life, and a true speaking tongue, is the throne, sceptre, crown, and footstoole, that advances them to an honourable renown. I mean not noble, virtuous, discreet, and worthy persons, whom necessity did enforce to submit, comply, and follow their own suites, but such as had nothing to lose, but made it their trade to solicite; but I dispairingly being positively denied at Goldsmiths' Hall,—besides I had a firm faith, or strong opinion, that the pains was more than the gains, and being unpractised in publick employments, unlearned in their uncouth ways, ignorant of the humours and dispositions of those persons to whom I was to address my suit, and not knowing where the power lay, and being not a good flatterer, I did not trouble myself or petition my enemies. Besides I am naturally bashful, not that I am ashamed of my minde or body, my birth or breeding, my actions or fortunes, for my

bashfulness is in my nature, not for any crime, and though I have strived and reasoned with myself, yet that which is inbred, I find is difficult to root out, but I do not find that my bashfulness is concerned with the qualities of the persons, but the number, for were I to enter amongst a company of Lazarouses, I should be as much out of countenance, as if they were all Cesars or Alexanders, Cleopatras or Queen Didoes; neither do I find my bashfulness riseth so often in blushes, as contracts my spirits to a chill paleness, but the best of it is, most commonly it soon vanisheth away, and many times before it can be perceived, and the more foolish, or unworthy, I conceive the company to be, the worse I am, and the best remedy I ever found was, is to persuade myself that all those persons I meet are wise and vertuous; the reason I take to be is, that the wise and vertuous censure less, excuse most, praise best, esteem rightly, judge justly, behave themselves civilly, demeane themselves respectfully, and speake modestly, when fools or unworthy persons are apt to commit absurdities, as to be bold, rude, uncivill both in words and actions, forgetting or not well understanding themselves, or the company they are with; and though I never met such sorts of ill bred creatures, yet Naturally I have such an aversion to such kinde of people, as I am afraid to meet them, as children are afraid of spirits, or those that are afraid to see or meet devills; which makes me think this naturall defect in me, if it be a defect, is rather a fear than a bashfulness, but whatsoever it is, I find it troublesome, for it hath many times obstructed the passage of my speech, and perturbed my naturall actions, forcing a constrainedness or unusual motions, but, however, since it is rather a fear of others than a bashfull distrust

of my self, I despaire of a perfect cure, unless nature as well as human governments could be civilized and brought into a methodicall order, ruling the words and actions with a supreme power of reason, and the authority of discretion: but a rude nature is worse than a brute nature, by so much more as man is better than beast, but those that are of civil natures and gentle dispositions, are as much nearer to celestiall creatures, as those that are of rude or cruell are to devils: but in fine, after I had been in England a year and a half, in which time I gave some half a score visits, and went with My Lord's brother to hear music in one Mr. Lawes his house, three or four times, as also some three or four times to Hide Park with my sisters, to take the aire, else I never stirred out of my lodgings, unless to see my brothers and sisters, nor seldom did I dress my self, as taking no delight to adorn my self, since he I onely desired to please was absent, although report did dress me in a hundred severall fashions: 'tis true when I did dress myself, I did endeavour to do it to my best becoming, both in respect to my self and those I went to visit, or chanc't to meet, but after I had been in England a year and a half, part of which time I writ a book of poems, and a little book called my *Philosophical Fancies*, to which I have writ a large addition, since I returned out of England, besides this book and one other: as for my book intitled *The World's Ollio*, I writ most part of it before I went into England, but being not of a merry, although not of a froward or peevish disposition, became very melancholy, by reason I was from My Lord, which made my mind so restless, as it did break my sleeps, and distemper my health, with which growing impatient of a longer delay, I resolved to return, although I was grieved

to leave Sir Charles, My Lord's brother, he being sick of an ague, of which sickness he died: for though his ague was cured, his life was decayed, he being not of a strong constitution could not, as it did prove, recover his health, for the dreggs of his ague did put out the lamp of his life, yet Heaven knows I did not think his life was so near to an end, for his doctor had great hopes of his perfect recovery, and by reason he was to go into the country for change of aire, where I should have been a trouble, rather than any ways serviceable, besides, more charge the longer I stayed, for which I made the more hast to return to My Lord, with whom I had rather be as a poor beggar, than to be mistress of the world absented from him; yet, Heaven hitherto hath kept us, and though Fortune hath been cross, yet we do submit, and are both content with what is, and cannot be mended, and are so prepared that the worst of fortunes shall not afflict our minds, so as to make us unhappy, howsoever it doth pinch our lives with poverty; for, if tranquillity lives in an honest mind, the mind lives in peace, although the body suffer: but patience hath armed us, and misery hath tried us, and finds us fortune-proof. For the truth is, My Lord is a person whose humour is neither extravagantly merry, nor unnecessarily sad, his mind is above his fortune, as his generosity is above his purse, his courage above danger, his justice above bribes, his friendship above self-interest, his truth too firm for falsehood, his temperance beyond temptation, his conversation is pleasing and affable, his wit is quick, and his judgment is strong, distinguishing cleerly without clouds of mistakes, dissecting truth, so as it justly admits not of disputes: his discourse is always new upon the occasion, without troubling the hearers

with old historicall relations, nor stuft with useless sentences, his behaviour is manly without formallity, and free without constraint, and his minde hath the same freedom: his nature is noble, and his disposition sweet, his loyaltie is proved by his publick service for his king and countrey, by his often hazarding of his life, by the losse of his estate, and the banishment of his person, by his necessitated condition, and his constant and patient suffering; but, howsover our fortunes are, we are both content, spending our time harmlessly. For My Lord pleaseth himself with the management of some few horses, and exercises himself with the use of the sword; which two arts he hath brought by his studious thoughts, rationall experience and industrious practice, to an absolute perfection: and though he hath taken as much pains in those arts, both by study and practice, as chimists for the phylosopher's stone, yet he hath this advantage of them, that he hath found the right and the truth thereof and therein, which chimists never found in their art, and I believe never will. Also he recreates himself with his pen, writing what his wit dictates to him, but I pass my time rather with scribling than writing, with words than wit, not that I speak much, because I am addicted to contemplation, unless I am with My Lord, yet then I rather attentively listen to what he sayes, than impertinently speak, yet when I am writing, sad and faind stories, or serious humours or melancholy passions, I am forced many times to express them with the tongue before I can write them with the pen, by reason those thoughts that are sad, serious, and melancholy, are apt to contract and to draw too much back, which oppression doth as it were overpower or smother the conception in the brain, but when some of those thoughts are sent out in

words, they give the rest more liberty to place themselves in a more methodicall order, marching more regularly with my pen, on the ground of white paper, but my letters seem rather as a ragged rout, than a well-armed body, for the brain being quicker in creating than the hand in writing, or the memory in retaining, many fancies are lost, by reason they oft-times outrun the pen; where I, to keep speed in the race, write so fast as I stay not so long as to write my letters plain, insomuch as some have taken my hand-writing for some strange character, and being accustomed so to do, I cannot now write very plain, when I strive to write my best; indeed, my ordinary hand-writing is so bad as few can read it, so as to write it fair for the press. But however, that little wit I have, it delights me to scribble it out, and disperse it about, for I being addicted from my childhood to contemplation rather than conversation, to solitariness rather than society, to melancholy rather than mirth, to write with the pen than to work with a needle, passing my time with harmeless fancies, their company being pleasing, their conversation innocent, in which I take such pleasure, as I neglect my health, for it is as great a grief to leave their society, as a joy to be in their company. My only trouble is, lest my brain should grow barren, or that the root of my fancies should become insipid, withering into a dull stupidity for want of maturing subjects to write on: for I being of a lazy nature, and not of an active disposition, as some are that love to journey from town to town, from place to place, from house to house, delighting in variety of company, making still one where the greatest number is; likewise in playing at cards, or any other games, in which I neither have practised, nor have I any skill therein: as for dancing,

although it be a graceful art, and becometh unmarried persons well, yet for those that are married, it is too light an action, disagreeing with the gravity thereof; and for revelling I am of too dull a nature, to make one in a merry society. As for feasting, it would neither agree with my humour or constitution, for my diet is for the most part sparing, as a little boiled chickin, or the like, my drink most commonly water. For though I have an indifferent good appetite, yet I do often fast, out of an opinion that if I should eat much and exercise little, which I do, onely walking a slow pace in my chamber, whilst my thoughts run apace in my brain, so that the motions of my minde hinders the active exercises of my body. For should I dance or run, or walk apace, I should dance my thoughts out of measure, run my fancies out of breath, and tread out the feet of my numbers. But because I would not bury myself quite from the sight of the world, I go sometimes abroad, seldome to visit, but only in my coach about the town, or about some of the streets, which we call here a tour, where all the chief of the town goe to see and to be seen, likewise all strangers of what quallity soever, as all great princes or queens that make any short stay. For this town being a passage or thorough-fare to most parts, causeth many times persons of great quallity to be here, though not as inhabitants, yet to lodge for some short time; and all such, as I said, take a delight, or at lest goe to see the custome thereof, which most cities of note in Europe for all I can hear, hath such like recreations for the effeminate sex, although for my part I had rather sit at home and write, or walk, as I said, in my chamber and contemplate; but I hold necessary sometimes to appear abroad, besides I do find, that severall objects do bring new materialls

for my thoughts and fancies to build upon, yet I must say this in the behalf of my thoughts, that I never found them idle; for if the senses bring no work in, they will work of themselves, like silk-wormes that spinns out of their own bowels; neither can I say I think the time tedious, when I am alone, so I be near My Lord, and know he is well.

But now I have declared to my readers, my birth, breeding, and actions, to this part of my life, I mean the material parts, for should I write every particular, as my childish sports and the like, it would be ridiculous and tedious; but I have been honorably born and nobly match't; I have been bred to elevated thoughts, not to a dejected spirit, my life hath been ruled with honesty, attended by modesty, and directed by truth: but since I have writ in generall thus far of my life, I think it fit, I spould speak something of my humour, particular practice and disposition. As for my humour, I was from my childhood given to contemplation, being more taken or delighted with thoughts then in conversation with a society, in so much as I would walk two or three hours, and never rest, in a musing, considering, contemplating manner, reasoning with my self of every thing my senses did present, but when I was in the company of my naturall friends, I was very attentive of what they said or did; but for strangers I regarded not much what they said, but many times I did observe their actions, whereupon my reason as judge, and my thoughts as accusers, or excusers, or approvers and commenders, did plead, or appeal to accuse, or complain thereto. Also I never took delight in closets, or cabinets of toys, but in the variety of fine clothes, and such toys as onely were to adorn my person: likewise I had a naturall stupidity towards the

learning of any other language than my native tongue, for I could sooner and with more facility understand the sense, then remember the words, and for want of such memory makes me so unlearned in foreign languages as I am: as for my practise, I was never very active, by reason I was given so much to contemplation: besides my brothers and sisters were for the most part serious, and staid in their actions, not given to sport nor play, nor dance about, whose company I keeping, made me so too: but I observed, that although their actions were stayed, yet they would be very merry amongst themselves, delighting in each other's company: also they would in their discourse express the generall actions of the world, judging, condemning, approving, commending, as they thought good, and with those that were innocently harmless, they would make themselves merry therewith. As for my studie of books it was little, yet I chose rather to read, than to imploy my time in any other work, or practise, and when I read what I understood not, I would ask my brother, the Lord Lucas, he being learned, the sense or meaning thereof; but my serious study could not be much, by reason I took great delight in attiring, fine dressing, and fashions, especially such fashions as I did invent myself, not taking that pleasure in such fashions as was invented by others: also I did dislike any should follow my fashions, for I always took delight in a singularity, even in accoutrements of habits, but whatsoever I was addicted to, either in fashion of cloths, contemplation of thoughts, actions of life, they were lawful, honest, honourable, and modest, of which I can avouch to the world with a great confidence, because it is a pure truth. As for my disposition, it is more inclining to be melancholy

than merry, but not crabbed or peevishly melancholy, but soft, melting, solitary, and contemplating melancholy; and I am apt to weep rather than laugh, not that I do often either of them; also I am tender natured, for it troubles my conscience to kill a fly, and the groans of a dying beast strike my soul: also where I place a particular affection, I love extraordinarily and constantly, yet not fondly, but soberly and observingly; not to hang about them as a trouble, but to wait upon them as a servant, but this affection will take no root, but where I think or find merit, and have leave both from divine and morall laws; yet I find this passion so troublesome, as it is the only torment to my liife, for fear any evill misfortune or accident, or sickness, or death, should come unto them, insomuch as I am never freely at rest. Likewise I am gratefull, for I never received a curtesie but I am impatient, and troubled untill I can return it; also I am chaste, both by nature and education, insomuch as I do abhorre an unchast thought: likewise I am seldom angry, as my servants may witness for me, for I rather chose to suffer some inconveniences than disturbe my thoughts, which makes me winke many times at their faults; but when I am angry, I am very angry, but yet it is soon over, and I am easily pacified, if it be not such an injury as may create a hate; neither am I apt to be exceptious or jealous; but if I have the lest symptome of this passion, I declare it to those it concerns, for I never let it ly smothering in my breast to breed a malignant disease in the minde, which might break out into extravagant passions, or railing speeches, or indiscreet actions; but I examin moderately, reason soberly, and plead gently in my own behalf, through a desire to keep those affections I had, or at least thought to have;

and truly I am so vain, as to be so self-conceited, or so naturally partial, to think my friends have as much reason to love me as another, since none can love more sincerely than I, and it were an injustice to prefer a fainter affection, or to esteem the body more than the minde. Likewise I am neither spitefull, envious, nor malicious; I repine not at the gifts that Nature, or Fortune bestows upon others, yet I am a great emulator; for though I wish none worse than they are, yet it is lawful for me to wish my self the best, and to do my honest endeavour thereunto; for I think it no crime to wish myself the exactest of Nature's works, my thred of life the longest, my chain of destinie the strongest, my mind the peaceablest; my life the pleasantest, my death the easiest, and the greatest saint in Heaven. Also to do my endeavour, so far as honour and honesty doth allow of, to be the highest on Fortune's wheele, and to hold the wheele, from turning if I can; and if it be commendable to wish another's good, it were a sin not to wish my own; for as envie is a vice, so emulation is a virtue, but emulation is in the way to ambition, or indeed it is a noble ambition. But I fear my ambition inclines to vain-glory, for I am very ambitious; yet 'tis neither for beauty, wit, titles, wealth, or power, but as they are steps to raise me to fame's tower, which is to live by remembrance on after-ages. Likewise I am, that the vulgar calls, proud, not out of self-conceit, or to slight or condemn any, but scorning to do a base or mean act, and disdaining rude or unworthy persons; insomuch, that if I should find any that were rude or too bold, I should be apt to be so passionate, as to affront them, if I can; unless discretion should get betwixt my passion and their boldness, which sometimes perchance it might, if discretion should croud

hard for place; for though I am naturally bashful, yet in such a cause my spirits would be all on fire. Otherwise I am so well bred, as to be civill to all persons, of all degrees, or qualities; likewise I am so proud, or rather just to My Lord, as to abate nothing of the qualitie of his wife; for if honour be the marke of merit, and his masters royall favour, who will favour none but those that have merit to deserve, it were a baseness for me to neglect the ceremony thereof. Also in some cases I am naturally a coward, and in other cases very valiant; as for example, if any of my neerest friends were in danger, I should never consider my life in striving to help them, though I were sure to do them no good, and would willingly, nay cheerfully, resign my life for their sakes. Likewise I should not spare my life, if honour bids me dye; but in a danger where my friends, or my honour is not concerned, or ingaged, but only my life to be unprofitably lost, I am the veriest coward in nature, as upon the sea, or any dangerous places, or of thieves, or fire, or the like. Nay, the shooting of a gun, although but a pot-gun, will make me start, and stop my hearing, much less have I courage to discharge one; or if a sword should be held against me, although but in jest, I am afraid. Also as I am not covetous, so I am not prodigall, but of the two I am inclining to be prodigall, yet I cannot say to a vain prodigallity, because I imagine it is to a profitable end, for perceiving the world is given, or apt to honour the outside more than the inside, worshipping show more than substance; and I am so vain, if it be a vanity, as to endeavour to be worship't, rather than not to be regarded; yet I shall never be so prodigall as to impoverish my friends, or go beyond the limits or facilitie of our estate. And though I desire to appear

to the best advantage, whilest I live in the view of the public world, yet I could most willingly exclude myself, so as never to see the face of any creature but My Lord, as long as I live; inclosing myself like an anchoret, wearing a frize gown, tied with a cord about my waste. But I hope my readers will not think me vain for writing my life, since there have been many that have done the like, as Cesar, Ovid, and many more, both men and women, and I know no reason I may not do it as well as they: but I verily believe some censuring readers will scornfully say, Why hath this lady writ her own life? since none cares to know whose daughter she was, or whose wife she is, or how she was bred, or what fortunes she had, or how she lived, or what humour or disposition she was of? I answer that it is true, that 'tis to no purpose to the readers, but it is to the authoress, because I write it for my own sake, not theirs; neither did I intend this piece for to delight, but to divulge; not to please the fancy, but to tell the truth, lest after-ages should mistake, in not knowing I was daughter to one Master Lucas of St. Johns, near Colchester, in Essex, second wife to the Lord Marquis of Newcastle; for My Lord having had two wives, I might easily have been mistaken, especially if I should dye and My Lord marry again.

# SOCIABLE LETTERS

# SOCIABLE LETTERS

## ON CONVERSING BY LETTER

MADAM,—You were pleased to desire, that, since we cannot converse personally, we should converse by letters, so as if we were speaking to each other, discoursing our opinions, discovering our designs, asking and giving each other advice; also telling the several accidents, and several imployments of our home-affairs, and what visits we receive, or entertainments we make, and whom we visit, and how we are entertained; what discourses we have in our gossiping-meetings, and what reports we hear of publick affairs, and of particular persons, and the like; so that our letters may present our personal meetings and associatings. Truly, Madam, I take so much delight in your wise, witty, and virtuous conversation, as I could not pass my life more pleasing and delightfully; wherefore I am never better pleased, than when I am reading your letters, and when I am writing letters to you; for my mind and thoughts are all that while in your company; the truth is, my mind and thoughts live always with you, although my person is at distance from you; insomuch as, if souls die not as bodies do, my soul will attend you when my body lies in the grave; and when we are both dead, we may hope to have a conversation of souls, where yours and mine will be doubly united, first in life, and then in death, in which I shall eternally be, Madam,

Your faithful friend and humble servant.

## AGE, WRINKLES, RUIN AND DEATH

MADAM,—The Lady C. E. ought not to be reproved for grieving for the loss of her beauty, for beauty is the light of our sex, which is eclipsed in middle age, and benighted in old age, wherein our sex sits in melancholy darkness, and the remembrance of beauty past, is as a displeasing dream. The truth is, a young beautiful face is a friend, whereas an old withered face is an enemy; the one causes love, the other aversion: yet I am not of Mrs. U. R.'s humour, which had rather dye before her beauty, than that her beauty should die before her: for I had rather live with wrinkles, than die with youth; and had rather my face clothed with time's sad mourning, than with death's white hue; and surely it were better to follow the shadow of beauty, than that beauty should go with the corpse to the grave; and I believe that Mrs. U. R. would do, as the tale is of a woman, that did wish, and pray she might die before her husband, but when death came, she entreated him to spare her, and take her husband; so that she would rather live without him, than die for him. But leaving this sad discourse of age, wrinkles, ruin and death,

I rest, Madam,
Your very faithful friend and servant.

## THE LADY' J. O.'S DAUGHTERS

MADAM,—The other day was here the Lady J. O. to see me, and her three daughters, which are called the three Graces, the one is black, the other brown, the third white, all three different coloured beauties; also they are of different features, statures and

shapes, yet all three so equally handsome, that neither judgment nor reason can prefer one before another: also their behaviours are different; the one is majestical, the other gay and airy, the third meek, and bashful; yet all three graceful, sweet and becoming: also their wits are different; the one propounds well, the other argues well; the third resolves well; all which make a harmony in discourse. These three ladies are resolved never to marry, which makes many sad lovers; but whilst they were here, in comes the Lord S. C. and discoursing with them, at last he asks them, whether they were seriously resolved never to marry? they answered, they were resolved never to marry: But, ladies, said he, consider, time wears out youth and fades beauty, and then you will not be the three young, fair Graces; You say true, my Lord, answered one of them, but when we leave to be the young fair Graces, we shall then be the old, wise Sybils. By this answer you may perceive, that when our sex cannot pretend to be fair, they will pretend to be wise; but it matters not what we pretend to, if we be really virtuous, which I wish all our sex may be,

And rest, Madam,

Your very faithful friend and servant.

## ON SIR F. O.'S PAPER COFFIN

MADAM,—In your last letter you sent me word, that Sir F. O. was retired to write his own life, for he saies, he knows no reason, but he may write his own life as well as Guzman; and since you desire my opinion of his intended work, I can onely say, that his life for anything I know to the contrary, hath been as evil as Guzman's. But whether his wit be as good as Guzman's, I know not, yet I doubt the worst, and

to write an evil life without wit, will be but a dull and tedious story, indeed so tedious and dull, as I believe none will take the pains to read it, unless he reads of himself; but it is to be hoped that he will be tired of himself, and so desist from his self story. And if he do write his own life, it will be as a masking dolphin, or such like thing, where the outside is painted paste-board or canvas, and the inside stuffed with shreds of paper, or dirty rags, scraped from dunghills; and if he set his picture before, as a frontispiece to his book, it will be like an ill-favoured masking vizzard. But if he have any friends, surely they will persuade him to imploy his time about something else; but some are so unhappy, as they have nothing to imploy time with; they can waste time, but not imploy time; and as they waste time, so time wastes them. There's a saying, *That men are born to live, and live to die;* but I think some are onely born to die, and not to live; for they make small use of life, and life makes small use of them; so that in effect they were ready for the grave, as soon as they came forth from the womb. Wherefore, if Sir F. O. go forward with his work, he will dig his grave through the story of his life, and his soul-less wit will be buried therein. But leaving his dead wit to his paper coffin, and his unprofitable labours to his black mourning ink,

I rest, Madam,
Your faithful fr. and s.

## ON WIT AND THE WORLD

Madam,—I am sorry to hear, wit is so little known and understood, that Sir W. T. should be thought mad, because he hath more wit than other men; indeed, wit should alwayes converse with wit, and

fools with fools; for wit and fools can never agree, they understand not one another. Wit flies beyond a fool's conceit or understanding, for wit is like an eagle, it hath a strong wing, and flies high and far, and when it doth descend, it knocks a fool on the head, as an eagle doth a dotril, or a woodcock, or such like birds; and surely the world was never so filled with fools, as it is in this age, nor hath there been greater errours, or grosser follies committed than there hath been in this age. It is not an age like Augustus Cæsar's, when wisdom reigned, and wit flourished, which was the cause of plenty and peace throughout the whole world: but in this age debauchery is taken for wit, and faction for wisdom, treachery for policy, and drunken quarrels for valour. Indeed, the world is so foolishly wicked, and basely foolish, that they are happiest who can withdraw themselves most from it: but when I say the world, I mean the world of men, or rather the bodies of men, for there doth not seem to be many rational souls amongst them, they are soul-less men, bodies of men that have only senses and appetites, or sensual appetites. But you say, every particular complains of the world, as I do in this letter, yet none helps to mend it. Let me tell you, Madam, it is not in the power of every particular, nor in a number, but the chiefest persons must mend the world; viz. they that govern the world, or else the world will be out at the heels. But in some ages the world is more tattered and torn, than in other ages; and in some ages the world is patched and pieced, but seldom new and suitable; and it is oftener in a fool's coat than in a grave cassock. Wherefore, leaving the motley,

I rest, Madam,
Your faithful friend and servant.

## THE LADY PURITAN AND THE PREACHERS

MADAM,—The pure lady, or Lady Puritan, is so godly, as to follow all those ministers she thinks are called and chosen by the Holy Spirit, to preach the word of God, whereas those ministers preach more their own words, than God's, for they interpret the Scripture to their own sense, or rather to their factious humours and designs; and after their sermons, their female flocks gossip Scripture, visiting each other to confer notes and make repetitions of the sermons, as also to explain and expound them. For, first the minister expounds the Scripture, and then the women-hearers expound the sermon; so that there are expoundings upon expoundings, and preaching upon preaching, insomuch as they make such a medly or hash of the Scripture, as certainly the right and truth is so hidden and obscured that none can find it; and surely the Holy Spirit, whom they talk so much of, knows not what they mean or preach, being so much and such nonsense in their sermons, as God Himself cannot turn to sense. But howsoever, it works on some to a good effect, and causes as much devotion amongst many, as if they preached learnedly, eloquently, and interpreted rightly, and to the true sense and meaning; for many sorrowful and penitent tears are shed. But whether they be bottled up in Heaven, I know not: certainly Mary Magdalen could not weep faster for the time, or fetch deeper sighs, or stronger groans for her sins, than they do, which shows that they have been grevious sinners; but whether their sins were of the same kind as hers were, I cannot tell, and I think they would not confess, for confession they account Popish. But truly, and verily, the Lady

Puritan who hath been to visit me this afternoon, hath so tired me with her preaching discourse, as I think I shall not recover my weary spirits and deafened ears, this two dayes, unless a quiet sleep cure me. Nay, she hath so filled my head with words, as I doubt it will hinder my silent repose; howsoever I'le try: and so taking my leave as going to bed, I rest, Madam,

Your faithful fr. and s.

## ON HER RETIRED LIFE

MADAM,—I heard by your last, that the Lady S. P. was to visit you, where, amongst her other discourses she spoke of me, and was pleased to censure and condemn, as to censure the cause, and condemn the manner of my life, saying, that I did either retire out of a fantastick humour, or otherwise I was constrained, in not having the liberty, that usually other wives have, to go abroad, and receive what visitors they please. But if she did but know the sweet pleasures, and harmless delights I have by this retirement, she would not have said what she did; and to answer to what she said, this course of life is by my own voluntary choice. For I have liberty to do anything, or to go anywhere, or to keep any company that discretion doth allow and honour approve of; and though I may err in my discretion, yet not in cases of honour, for had I not onely liberty, but were perswaded or inticed by all the world's allurements, or were threatened with death, to do, or act anything against honour, or to do any thing or act, honour did not approve of, I would not do it; nay, I would die first. But in that which is called honour, are many ingrediencies, as justice, chastity, truth,

trust, gratitude, constancy, and many the like. Next I answer, that it is not out of a fantastic humour, that I live so much retired, which is to keep my house more than go abroad, but out of self-love, and not out of self-opinion, and it is just and natural for any one to love himself. Wherefore, for my pleasure and delight, my ease and peace, I live a retired life, a home life, free from the intanglements, confused clamours, and rumbling noise of the world; for I by this retirement live in a calm silence, wherein I have my contemplations free from disturbance, and my mind lives in peace, and my thoughts in pleasure; they sport and play, they are not vext with cares nor worldly desires, they are not covetous of worldly wealth, nor ambitious of empty titles. They are not to be catched with the baits of sensual pleasures, or rather I may say, sensual follies, for they draw my senses to them, and run not out to the senses; they have no quarrelling disputes amongst them; they live friendly and sociably together; their onely delight is in their own pastimes and harmless recreations; and though I do not go personally to masks, balls, and playes, yet my thoughts entertain my mind with such pleasures, for some of my thoughts make playes, and others act those playes on the stage of imagination, while my mind sits as a spectator. Thus my mind is entertained both with poets and players, and takes as much delight as Augustus Cæsar did to have his Mecænas, the patron of poetry, sit and hear Virgil and Horace read their works unto them. So my mind takes delight in its dear Mecænas, which is contemplation, and to have its poetical thoughts, although not like Virgil or Horace, yet such as they are, it is pleased to have them repeat their poems and other works which they make; and those my mind

likes best, it sends them forth to the senses to write them down, and then to send them out to the publick view of the world; and many times the senses send in objects to the mind, who straight commands his poetical thoughts to take them for plots of playes, or causes the grave philosophical thoughts to discourse of them, or his oratorical thoughts to practice their eloquence on them, or his critical thoughts to dispute and argue with them. Which done, all their several discourses, disputes, arguments, poems, playes, and the like, made on those objects, are sent back to the senses to write them down, so that the mind and the thoughts imploy the senses, and the senses imploy the mind and thoughts; and thus I take as much pleasure within myself, if not more, as the Lady S. P. doth without herself. Indeed none enjoyes truly himself, but those that live to themselves, as I do, and it is better to be a self-lover in a retired life, than a self-seeker in a wandering humour like a vagabond, for they go from place to place, from one company to another, and never are at rest in their minds nor bodies; and how should it be otherwise? For they lose themselves in company, and keeping much company, they know not where to find themselves, for as for their dwelling-place, they are sure to miss of themselves there. But indeed they have no constant dwelling, for going much abroad, they dwell every where, and yet to speak metaphorically, no where. But every one's delights are different, for the Lady S. P. delights her self with others, and I delight my self with my self; some delight in troubles, I delight in ease, and certainly much company and conversation cannot chuse but be troublesome; for in much company are many exceptions, much envy, much suspicion, much detraction, much faction, much noise,

and much nonsense, and it is impossible, at least improbable, for any particular person to please all the several companies they come into, or are visited by, if the resort be many; by reason every one hath as different humours as faces, wherein some will be displeased, if others should be pleased; and most commonly they are so far from pleasing all, as none is pleased. For if any particular person should praise every one, it would be thought flattery; if he should praise none, it would be conceived to be envy; if he should praise but some, it would be judged to be partiality. The like for discourse; if one should address his discourse to any one, or to some more than to others, it would be taken as a disrespect; if generally to the whole company, it would be accounted pride, as taking one's self to be the onely singular person that must have a general audience; neither can any one person fit his discourse to every one's humour, fancy, capacity, understanding, knowledge, or delight. Nay, most commonly, whatsoever is spoken, is interpreted to the worst sense, at least, contradicted; and when they are parted, their words or discourses is repeated to their disadvantage, and commented on, and interpreted to an evil sense; and if they say nothing, or but little, they are accounted ill-natured, or thought fools. And yet they love not to hear any one speak but themselves, every one desires to be heard, yet takes it ill not to be spoken to; also if particular persons make an entertainment, if they invite not those they have no acquaintance with, as well as those of their acquaintance, if they are within the distance of coming to the entertainment, they take it for an affront, but if they should leave out any acquaintance, it is a breach for ever, and they become their enemies: also, if particular persons be accoutered

bravely, they are envied, if they be attired in plain, mean garments, they are despised; if any woman be more beautiful than commonly the rest are, if she appears to the world, she shall be sure to have more female detractors and slanderers, to ruin her reputation, than any monarch hath souldiers to fight an enemy; and if any woman be ill-favoured, it is mentioned as a reproach, although it be Nature's fault, and not hers; and if she be indifferently handsome, they speak of her as regardless; if she be in years, they will say she is fitter for the grave than company; if young, fitter for a school than conversation; if of middle years, their tongues are the fore-runners of her decay; if she have wealth, and no titles, she is like meat, all fat, and no blood; and if great title with small wealth, they say, she is like a pudding without fat; and if she hath both wealth and title, they shun her as the plague, they hate to see her, as owls hate the light; and if she hath neither wealth nor title, they scorn her company, and will not cast an eye towards her. And thus the generality is to every particular: wherefore it is impossible for any particular either to please the humours, or avoid the slanders or reproaches of the generality, for every one is against another; indeed, every one is against all, and all against every one, and yet through the itch of talk, luxury, wantonness, and vanity, they will associate into companies, or rather I may say, gather into companies, and frequent each other's houses; whereas those that endeavour to be truly happy, will not be troubled with such follies, nor disturbed with such toyes. But I am not so retired, as to bar my self from the company of my good friends, or such as are free from exception, as not to translate harmless and simple words, to an evil sense and meaning, or such as are so noble,

as not to dispraise, or detract from such persons as they are pleased to take the pains to visit, or from such as will not take it for a neglect, if I do not punctually return their visit, or perhaps not visit them at any time; but will excuse or pardon my lazy humour and not account it a disrespect, as truly it is none; for I do honour and admire all civil, worthy, and honourable persons, and would be ready at all times honestly to serve them. But this retired life is so pleasing to me, as I would not change it for all the pleasures of the publick world, nay, not to be mistress of the world, for I should not desire to be mistress of that which is too big to be commanded, too self-willed to be ruled, too factious to be governed, too turbulent to live in peace; and wars would fright, at least grieve me that mankind should be so ill-natured and cruel to destroy each other. To conclude, I am more happy in my home-retirement, than I believe the Lady S. P. is in her public frequentments, having a noble and kind husband, who is witty and wise company, a peaceable and quiet mind, and recreative thoughts, that take harmless liberty; and all this I have declared to you, that you may let the Lady S. P. know that my retirement from the publick concourse and army of the world, and regiments of acquaintance, is neither through constraint, nor fantastick humour, but through a love to peace, ease, and pleasure, all which you enjoy; which is the fulfilling of your Ladiship's faithful friend and servant's happiness.

## ON YOUTH AND TIME

MADAM,—I remember you told me, that formerly you thought time troublesome, and every place wearisome; as in the spring, you would wish for

summer, when summer came, you would wish for autumn, and in the autumn you would wish for winter, a cold wish; nay every day, every hour, every minute, you thought tedious and long. Indeed time runs so fast upon youth, as it doth oppress youth, which makes youth desire to cast it by; and though the motion of time is swift, yet the desire of youth is swifter, and the motions of thoughts are so far beyond the motions of time, as the motion of time is beyond the motion of Nature's architecture; so as youth, through its sharp, greedy, hungry appetite, devours time, like as a cormorant doth fish. For as he never stayes to chew, but swallows down whole fishes, so youth swallows, as it were, whole dayes, weeks, months, years, untill they surfeit with practice, or are fully satisfied with experience. The same reason makes youth weary of every place or company, for they are not satisfied, because they have not had enough variety of knowledge. They know not the right use of time, the unprofitable use of vanity, the restless motions of variety, nor know they the deceits, abuses, and treacheries of their own kind, as mankind, neither do they know their own natures and dispositions; they know not what to choose, nor what to leave, what to seek, nor what to shun; neither have they felt the heavy burdens of cares, nor oppressions of sorrows for losses and crosses; they have not been pinched with necessity, nor pained with long sicknesses, nor stung with remorse; they have not been terrified with bloody wars, nor forsaken of natural friends, nor betrayed by feigned friendships; they have not been robbed of all their maintenance, nor been banished their countrey. Thus being tenderly young, they are oppresst with the quick repetitions of time, and their senses being sharp, and their

appetites hungry, they greedily devour time, though in the end time devours them, the meat, the eater, also the desire of knowledge makes every place and company wearisom, for youth takes delight in that which is new, they being new themselves. For youth is like garments new made, and being new themselves, they sympathetically delight and love new things, as new clothes, new houses, new varieties, new sports, new countries, new companies, new lovers, new friends, and anything that is new to them, insomuch as they would rather have a new enemy, than an old friend; and thus will youth do, until time turns its back, whereupon are written all the follies of youth, which follies they could not see to read whilst time was before them. For while time's face is towards them, they onely see their childish desires, which are all written upon time's breast. But, Madam, I believe that time, as troublesom as it hath seemed to you, you would be glad now of its stay; but time doth like all courting amorosoes do, they run to imbrace youth, though they tire youth with their troublesom kindness; but when the gloss of youth is past, they leave off their amours, nay, they hate those they made love to, and strive to get away from them as fast as they can, and as far off: just so doth time, it makes love to all, and then forsakes all it hath made love to. But, Madam, it hath but newly turned its head from you, but it will turn its whole body; at first it will seem to pace slowly from you, but it will mend its pace, and at last run from you, yet let it not run without your repining, or grieving for its neglects, for no persuasion will make it stay. But, Madam, you will be happier in time's neglects, than in its embracements, and will make more advantage from time's heels than from its head, for time's head is filled

with vanity, and on time's heels is experience; yet although time runs from you, wisdom will stay with you, for wisdom is the son of time, and became wise by his father's follies, which are written upon his father's back; for wisdom waits alwayes behind his father, and neither wisdom the son, nor time the father, do meet face to face; and you will find more happiness in wisdom's company than in time's courtships. For wisdom's conversation is comfortable and pleasing, it speaks with the tongue of an oratour, the wit of a poet, and the advice of a friend; then who would be troubled with the fantastical humours, apish actions, flattering speeches, and subtil deceits of time? But lest this letter should be as tedious to you as formerly time was, I'll stop here, and rest, Madam,

Your Ladiship's faithful fr. and s.

## THE TALKING LADIES

Madam,—The Lady P. R. was to visit the Lady S. I. and other ladies with her, whose conversation and discourse was according to their female capacities and understandings, and when they were all gone the Lady S. I.'s husband asked his wife, why she did not talk as the rest of the ladies did, especially the Lady P. R. so loud and impertinently? She answered, she had neither the humour, breath, voice, nor wit, to speak so long, so loud, and so much of nothing: He said, her answer liked him well, for he would not have his wife so bold, so rude, and so talking a fool. Thus, Madam, we may perceive how discourse in conversation is judged of, and for the most part condemned by the hearers, when perchance the ladies imagine that

they are applauded and commended for their wit and confident behaviour; for self-love thinks all is well said or done, that itself speaks or acts, so that self-love doth alwayes approve it self, and dispraise others. But leaving self-love to self-admiration, and that admiration to other's condemnation,

I rest, Madam,
Your faithful fr. and s.

## ON WORDS AND WIT

Madam,—In your last letter you were pleased to condemn me for admiring words, so much, as to prefer eloquence before all other musick; but pray, Madam, mistake me not, for I do not admire the words, but the sense, reason, and wit, that is exprest, and made known by words. Neither do I admire formal orators, that speak premeditated orations, but natural orators, that can speak on a sudden upon any subject, whose words are as sweet and melting as manna from Heaven, and their wit as spreading and refreshing as the serene air, whose understanding is as clear as the sun, giving light of truth to all their hearers, who in case of perswasion, speak sweetly, in case of reproof, seasonably, and in all cases effectually. And, Madam, if you do consider well, you cannot chuse but admire, and wonder at the powers of eloquence, for there is a strange hidden mystery in eloquence, it hath a magical power over mankind for it charms the senses, and inchants the mind, and is of such a commanding power, as it forces the will to command the actions of the body and soul, to do, or to suffer, beyond their natural abilities, and makes the souls of men the tongue's slaves; for such is the power of an eloquent speech, as it binds the judge-

ment, blindfolds the understanding, and deludes the reason; also it softens the obdurate hearts, and causes dry eyes to weep, and dryes wet eyes from tears; also it refines the drossy humours, polishes the rough passions, bridles the unruly appetites, reforms the rude manners, and calms the troubled minds; it can civilise the life by virtue, and inspire the soul with devotion. On the other side it can enrage the thoughts to madness, and cause the soul to despair. The truth is, it can make men like gods or devils, as having a power beyond nature, custom and force, for many times the tongue hath been too strong for the sword, and often carried away the victory; also it hath been too subtil for the laws, as to banish right, and to condemn truth; and too hard for the natures of men, making their passions its prisoners. And since eloquence hath such power over arms, and laws, and men, as to make peace or war, to compose or dissolve commonwealths, to dispose of souls and bodies of mankind; wherefore those men that are indued with such eloquence, and overflowing wit, are both to be feared and loved, to be highly advanced or utterly banished; for those whose eloquent wit outruns their honesty, are to be punished, but those that employ their eloquent wit, and elegant graces, to the service of the commonwealth, are to be esteemed, respected, and relied upon, as pillars of the commonwealth. But to conclude, wit makes a ladder of words, to climb to fame's high tower, and the tongue carries men further than their feet, and builds them a statelier, and more lasting palace than their hands, and their wit, more than their wealth, doth adorn it. But now, leaving words and wit, I rely upon love and friendship, and rest, Madam,

Your faithful friend and servant.

## THE EIGHT KINDS OF MANKIND

MADAM,—I do not wonder, that the Lord C. R. should delight in effeminate pastimes, as dancing, fidling, visiting, junketting, attiring, and the like, because he is an effeminate man, fitter to dance with a lady, than to fight with an enemy; nor do I wonder that the Lord N. W. practises riding, fencing, vaulting, shooting, hunting, fortifying, navigating, and the like, because he is an heroick man, fitter to conquer a nation, than to dance a galliard or courant; nor I do not wonder that the Lord A. M. drinks, whores, games, and the like, because he is a debauched man, apter to quarrel than to fight; neither do I wonder that the Lord L. V. studies, reads, writes, travels, inquires and searches for right and truth, because he is a wise man; nor I do not wonder at the Lord F. O. that loves amorous courtships, because he is an idle man; nor I do not wonder at the Lord C. H. that prayes to God, sends to the sick, and relieves the poor, because he is a good man; nor do I wonder at the Lord W. I. who extorts, exacts, and deceives, because he is a wicked man; neither do I wonder at the Lord C. C. who visits the meritorious, applauds the worthy, assists the industrious, and the like, because he is a generous person; nor I do not wonder at the Lord G. R. that he speaks false with his tongue, dissembles in his countenance, betrays in his actions, because he is a base man. Thus, Madam, we may divide mankind into eight parts, or rather into four; for those four, as the effeminate, idle, wicked, and base, are but the slime and dung of mankind, and onely the heroick, wise, good, and generous, are the soul and body of mankind. The first are neither good for

citizens, magistrates, nor commanders, but rather fit to be set in the fore-fronts of battels to be destroyed, or to fill up breaches, being but rubbish; but then you will say, this were the way to destroy most men in the world, the truth is, if it were not for such men and ravenous beasts, the world would be rather a heaven than a world. But leaving them and beasts,

I rest, Madam,

Your faithful friend and servant.

## ON SIR W. C.'S WIFE AND HER SINGULAR DISCRETION

Madam,—Sir W. C.'s wife you know hath a conversable and ingenious wit, yet not being very handsom, her husband hath got him a mistress, who is very beautiful and handsom, but yet she is a fool; a friend of his asked him why he chose a fool for his mistress? He said, he did not court her for her wit, but for her beauty; for, said he, now I have a mistress for delight, and a wife for conversation, I have a mistress to look on, and admire, and a wife to listen to and discourse with, and both to embrace at my pleasure. But, said his friend, if your wife should come to know you have a mistress you will not take much pleasure in her conversation, unless you account mourning complaints of, or to you, exclamations and curses against you, cross speeches, opposite actions, and hideous noise, to be conversable and delightful; for the truth is, said he, your wife's words will be so salt, sharp, and bitter, as they will corrode your mind, leaven up your thoughts, and make your life unpleasant. My wife, said Sir W. C., shall not know I have a mistress; his friend replied, your often absence will

betray you, or else some other will tell her, for adultery is like murder, it seldom escapes finding out; and since that time Sir W. C.'s lady hath heard of her husband's mistress, but she seems not to be angry at it, but talks of it with great patience, saying, that if her husband takes pleasure in variety, he will be more delighted with her wit, than with his mistress's beauty, and will sooner be tired with gazing on one object, than in hearing divers discourses and diversions of wit, sense, reason, judgement, fancy, and speech. Besides, said she, wit attracts the mind more to love, than beauty to admiration, and if my husband loves me best, said she, I am well content he should admire her beauty most, as also to imbrace her as much as he pleases. For I am so delighted, and wedded to my own wit, that I regard not my husband's amours nor imbracings, for wit is spiritual and not corporeal, it lives with the mind, and not with the body, being not subject to the gross senses; for though wit, said she, may be made known by words and actions, yet those are but the pictures of wit's works, not wit it self, for that cannot be drawn, it is beyond all draughts; and so much difference, said she, is between my husband's mistress and his wife, as a picture and an invisible spirit, which spirit can both help and hurt, delight and terrifie, damn and glorifie. But howsoever, said she, my wit shall not be my husband's evil spirit, neither to reproach him, nor to disgrace, reprove, delude, or anger him; but it shall be alwayes ready to defend, commend, inform, delight, and if it could, to reform him; but I believe, said she, that is past the power of my wit, for it is a hard matter to restrain nature from liberty, especially of the appetites, for the passions of the mind are more easily governed than the appetites of the body, for they are sensual

and brutal wherefore time is a better reformer of the appetites than reason. But madam, this is to let you know the Lady W. C.'s wit, discretion, and temper, which is more than most of our sex hath; and so leaving her to her wit, and her husband to reformation, and his mistress's beauty to time,

I rest, Madam,
Your most faithful friend and servant.

## ON SIR F. O.'S DISH OF BREWESS

Madam,—I am sorry Sir F. O. hath undervalued himself so much below his birth and wealth, as to marry his kitchen-maid, but it was a sign he had an hungry, or that he lived a solitary life, seeing no better company, or conversed not with women of quality; or else he hath been too privately kind, and was loth to have it too publickly known; or he hath tried her virtue, and so married her for chastity, though many women will deny some, and grant to others; or else he married her for beauty, or wit, or both, although the inferiour or meaner sort of people, especially women, are oftener owners of beauty than wit, and if they have some wit, it is onely sharp replies, which are a kind of a scolding; and I have heard that the way or manner of courtship amongst the inferiour sort of people in E. is scolding, they scold themselves into matrimony, or at least, make love in a rough, rude style. But perchance Sir F. O. married his kitchen-maid in hopes she would make a nimble and obedient which he might fear one of equal birth would not be; indeed he hath chosen one out of the humblest offices, or household imployments, for the kitchen for the most part is the lowest room

in a house. Yet I write not this as believeing he may not be happy in his choice, for 'tis likely the match may be more happy than honourable, and if he thinks it is no disgrace, or cares not for disgrace, all is well, for it onely concerns himself, as having no parents living to grieve or anger, nor no former children to suffer by. But though her office and birth were both dripping and basting, yet his dignity and wealth hath made her a gay lady, and so leaving him to his dish of brewess,

I rest, Madam,
Your faithful friend and servant.

## ON THE DEGREES AND DIVERS SORTS OF WIT

Madam,—You were pleased to desire me to send you my opinion of Mrs. R. E.'s wit, truly I cannot judge of her wit until I have a longer acquaintance with her. For there are many several degrees, and divers sort of wit, as from a pint to a tun, or teirce, or pipe of wit, all which may be drawn dry, and their brains be as empty barrels; and some have rivers or seas of wit, which sometimes ebb and some flow, wherein some have double tides; and others have springs of wit which issue out into small streams, but make great flouds, by reason they constantly flow without intermission. But there are not many seas, nor rivers, nor floods, nor springs of wit, for there are more bottels than springs, and more barrels than seas of wit. As for spring wit, it is fresh, sweet, calm, smooth, pure, bright and clear, whereas sea wit is salt, sad, fomy, rough, boisterous, unsteady, and sometimes dangerous. And as there are several

degrees of wit for quantity, and sorts of wit for quality, so there are several weights of wit. For salt wit is heavy and searching, it presses to the centre, and peirces to the quick, and opens the obstructions of the world of mankind, like as mineral waters do the splene, or the like parts of the body, whereas fresh spring wit is light and airy, running with a smooth and quick motion, refreshing the world of mankind, bathing the soul, cleansing the thoughts, and quenching the drought of time, which is overheated with running; but least my pen should become dry with writing, having not wit enough to moisten it, I'le take my leave, and rest, Madam,

Your faithful fr. and s.

## ON COMBUSTIONS AND WARS

Madam,—I have observed that in all combustions and wars, those get more favour and profit that enter into them latest, for those that are at the beginning, for the most part, are losers, either in lives, or estates, or both, and are least favoured by those they fight or adventure for, nay most commonly they are disfavoured; wherefore, if honour and honesty would give leave, were I a man, I would not enter till the last course, for that is sweetest, like a banquet. But because honour and honesty would exclaim against me, for preferring profit and promotion before them, therefore a man ought to do his endeavour in a just cause, for honour and honestie's sake, although he were sure to lose his liberty, estate or life. But leaving war, loss, disfavour and preferment to worthy persons and unjust states and princes,

I rest Madam,

Your faithful friend and servant.

## OF PRAISE AND DISPRAISE

MADAM,—Mrs. C. R. is very much troubled in her mind with doubts and fears, since she hath heard that the Lady S. P. did publickly and privately praise her, for, she sayes, she is afraid the Lady S. P. hath observed some error in her behaviour, or hath heard her speak foolishly, or hath found out some decayes of beauty in her face, or some deformities in her shape, or some of the masculine sex have dispraised her beauty, wit, person, behaviour, or the like. Otherwise, sayes she, she is confident she would never have praised her, for, sayes she, it is so unusual for one woman to praise another, as it seems unnatural; wherefore she doth not delight to be praised by her own sex, and since that time she received your last letter, she will sit in a silent musing posture, considering and examining her self, as searching to find out what faults she hath, or what crimes she is guilty of, that the Lady S. P. should praise her, and so peevish and froward she is for it, as I believe she will never be quiet or at rest and peace in her mind, until she hear that the Lady S. P. hath spoken spitefully of her, or hath dispraised her some wayes or other. The truth is, she doth confess as much, for she sayes, she shall never think her self handsome, conversable, nor vertuous, but ill-favoured, foolish, base, or wicked, unless she be dispraised by her own sex, wherefore if you hear, as certainly you cannot chuse unless you will stop your ears, any femal discommendations concerning Mrs. C. R., pray send her word of them, by which you will infinitely oblige her, and in the mean time I shall endeavour to pacifie her thoughts, and settle her mind in peace and quiet resting Madam,

Your faithful friend and servant.

## OF DIVINITY AND DIVISION

MADAM,—You were pleased to tell me in your last letter, that there was a great and earnest dispute between O. G. and C. O. in divinity, as to prove many things which are easier to be believed than proved; for though proof makes knowledge, yet belief doth not make proof; for though many thousands of men believe alike one thing or things, a thousand years, yet neither the number of men, nor of years, doth prove it to be true, it only proves that so many men did believe it for so many years. For though there be many things in Nature that may be conceived, and demonstrated to reason, at least, to have a probability in reason, but cannot be demonstrated to the senses, yet the conceptions do oftener deceive, not onely the reason, but the senses, than the senses do the reason or conception, for though the senses may and are oftentimes mistaken and deluded, yet they are the most certain and surest guides and informers we have. But divinity is above all sense and reason, as also all demonstrations, wherefore faith is required in all religions; for what cannot be conceived or apprehended, must be believed, and if the chief pillar of religion is faith, men should believe more, and dispute less, for disputations do argue weakness of faith, nay, they make a strong faith faint, for all disputes in divinity are enemies to faith, and are apt through contradictions and different opinions, to destroy religion, making the thoughts and mind atheistical, and the words sophistical, men spending more time in disputing than praying, rather striving to express their wit than to increase their knowledge, for Divine mysteries are beyond all natural capacity, and the schoolmen have rather taught men contra-

dictions than truth, and church-men rather division than union. But all disputes and arguments in divinity are onely fit for church-men, whose profession is to be teachers and instructors in the Divine laws, and not for lay-men, unless they intend to be church-men: for as all national laws have judges, serjeants, barresters, attornies, and the like, to perform and execute the common and civil laws, that have been prudently enacted for the good and benefit of the bodily life and commonwealth; so there are bishops, deans, deacons, parish-priests and curats, to perform and execute the divine laws, which have been spiritually enacted for the salvation of men's souls; and as lawyers are informers of the national laws, and pleaders of causes, so ministers are informers of the divine laws, and teachers of good life, and all spiritual causes should be decided by the bishops, as all national or human causes by the judges. Otherwise, there would be a confusion both in Church and state; wherefore those that are not of that profession, ought not to meddle therewith, or dispute thereof, but to submit to that which our fore-fathers thought fit to enact, order, and dispose, for the good of their successors, and succedent times; and so leaving O. G. and C. O. to agree if they can,

I rest, Madam,
Your faithful fr. and s.

## ON THE LADY P. Y.'S PIETY

Madam,—As for the Lady P. Y. who, you say, spends most of her time in prayer, I can hardly believe God can be pleased with so many words, for what shall we need to speak so many words to God, who

knows our thoughts, minds and souls, better than, we do our selves? Christ did not teach us long prayers, but a short one, nay, if it were lawful for men to similize God to his creatures (which I think it is not), God might be tired with long and tedious petitions or often repetitions; but, Madam, good deeds are better than good words, in so much as one good deed is better than a thousand good words. As for example, one act of upright justice, or pure charity, is better than a book full of prayers, a temperate life is better many times than a praying life; for we may be intemperate even in our prayers, as to be superstitious or idolatrous. Indeed every good deed is a prayer, for we do good for God's sake, as being pleasing to Him, for a chaste, honest, just, charitable, temperate life is a devout life, and worldly labour is devout, as to be honestly industrious to get and prudent to thrive, that one may have wherewithal to give; for there is no poor beggar, but had rather a penny than a blessing, for they will tell you, that they shall starve with *Dieu vous assiste*, but be relieved with a *denar*. Wherefore the Lady P. Y. with her much fasting and long praying will starve her self, and waste her life out before the natural time, which will be a kind of self-murder, and we hold self-murder the greatest sinn, although it should be done in a pious form or manner; but to help a friend in distress is better and more acceptable, than to pray for a friend in distress, to relieve a beggar in want, is better than to pray for him, to attend the sick is better than to pray for the sick; but, you will say, both do well, I say it is well said, and well when it is done, but the one must not hinder the other, wherefore we ought not to leave the world to pray, but to live in the world to act, as to act to good uses, and 'tis not enough to give for the

poor, but to see that the poor be not cousened of their gifts, wherefore they ought to distribute their gifts themselves, and to be industrious to know and to find out those that do truly and not feignedly want, neither must their gifts make the poor idle, but set the idle poor a-work, and as for those that cannot work or help themselves, as the old, sick, decrepit, and children, they must be maintained by those that have means and strength and health to attend them. But perchance if the Lady P. Y. heard me, she would say, I was one of those that did speak more good words, than act good deeds, or that I neither spent my time in praying nor pious acting; indeed I cannot, as the proud Pharisee, brag and boast of my good deeds, but with the poor publican, I must say, Lord, have mercy on me, a miserable sinner. Yet I must say thus much truth of my self, that I never had much to give; for before the warrs of this country I was too young to be rich, or to have means in my own power of disposing, and since the warrs all my friends being so ruined, and my husband banished from his native countrey, and dispossest of his inherited estate, I have been in a condition rather to receive, than to give: yet I have not done much of either, for truly I am as glad not to receive, as sorry not to give, for obligation is as great a burden to me, as not be able to oblige is an unhappiness. Not that I account it so great an unhappiness to be in such a condition, as to be fit to receive, but to receive in such a condition, as not to be able to return the obligation, for the truth is, I had rather suffer for want, than take to be relieved; but I thank God, I have not had many of those burdens of obligations. Some few I have had, but those were from my near relative friends, not from strangers, which is a double, nay, a

treble blessing; but my condition is fitter for prayer, as having not sufficient means to do good works, my husband being robbed of all his estate, than the Lady P. Ys. who hath saved all she can lay claim to; wherefore, leaving her to her prayers of thanksgiving, and I to prayers of petitioning,

I rest, Madam,
Your very faithful friend and servant.

## A GOOD SERVANT

MADAM,—I am sorry to hear you have lost so good a servant as E. L. was, for she was faithful, trusty, loving, humble, obedient, industrious, thrifty, and quiet, harmlesly merry and free, yet full of respect and duty, which few servants are in this age; for most are idle, cousening, wastful, crafty, bold, rude, murmuring, factious and treacherous, and what not that is evil? But truly, Madam, the fault ought to be laid on the masters and mistresses, who either give their servants ill examples by their evil or idle life, or through a credulous trust, which is a temptation to a poor servant, and it is a part of our prayer, *Lead us not into temptation;* or through a neglect of governing, for there is an old true saying, The Master's eye makes the horse fat; or through a timorous fear of commanding, for many masters are afraid to command a peremptory servant, being more in aw of the servant than the servant of the master: or through much clemency, giving their servants their wills so much as they neglect their duties; or through their prodigality, when to inrich their servants they make themselves poor so as the servant becomes greater than the master, which makes them so proud, that

they slight their commands and neglect their services, forgetting who advanced them, and are apt to rebel against them, just like the devils, when they were angels, who perceiving they were so glorious creatures, rebelled against their creator, and would be as Good himself; just so are poor servants when their master gives them fine cloaths to adorn them, or money to inrich them, or offices to advance them, they streight would be their masters, nay, they will envy their master if they see him have any thing better than they. This I have known by experience, but they will not know it, untill they become to be like devils, that is, in a miserable condition, which they deserve for their ingratitude; but a good servant is a treasure, sayes Solomon; and so I think is a good master to a servant, if the servant have wit to perceive it. But a good master is to know how to command, when to command, and what to command; also when to bestow, what to bestow, and how much to bestow on a good servant; also to fit servants to imployments, and imployments to servants; also to know how and when to restrain them, and when to give them liberty; also to observe, which of his servants be fit to be ruled with austerity or severity, and which with clemency, and to reward and punish them properly, timely and justly; likewise when to make them work, and when to let them play or sport; as also when to keep them at a distance, and when to associate himself with them. And truly, I should sooner chuse to associate my self with the company of my servants, had they good breeding, or were capable to learn and imitate what did belong to good behaviour, than with strangers, for good servants are friends as well as servants, nay, servants are a guard to their masters, for good and faithfull servants will dye for the safeguard of their

master's life, and they will indure any torments rather than betray their masters; and it is the duty of servants so to do, for servants ow almost as much duty to their masters, as children to their parents, or subjects to their natural prince, for servants are not only governed, but instructed, fed, and maintained; and what greater crime is there, than to be a traitor to their governor, tutor, and nourisher of their life? And every master, the meanest that is, is a father and a king in his own family, wherefore to my reason they are very unwise that will go out of their own dominions, and leaving their own obedient subjects, which are their servants, travel into other kingdoms, which are other families, wherein they have neither power nor obedience, leaving their own servants without rule or guide; for when a master is from home, his family is like a body without a head, like as a king should travel into foreign countries, and leave his subjects and kingdom and state-affairs at random, or to a deputy, 'tis likely his subjects would rebell against him through dislike to the deputy, as scorning to be ruled or governed by a fellow-subject, or else the deputy will get away their love from their prince, and then will strive to thrust the right owner out; the same is with a master and his servants. Wherefore a wise, loving master will keep home, and go no oftener abroad than occasion requires, but will entertain himself with his own family, and his family will entertain him with sports and pastimes, like as subjects do their princes, and whenas a servant doth rebell, although the master hath not power to banish him the country or kingdom, as princes have, yet hath he power to turn him out of his service, and banish him from his house, if his fault do deserve it; but some may think it strange, that there are as few

masters that know how to govern their families wisely, as there are kings that know how to rule their kingdoms wisely; but that is no wonder, for first, where there is one king of a kingdom, there are thousands masters of families, and a king is the master of all those families, insomuch as a king hath more masters to govern and rule, than the richest master of his kingdom hath servants. But if servants were as they should be, masters would not only thrive by the trusty labours of their servants, and servants by the wealth of their master, but masters and servants would live easily, by the diligence of the one, and the prudence of the other; also they would live delightfully, by their sports and pastimes, where the master would sit as a kingly spectator, whilst his servants were pleasant actors, in all which both masters and servants would be very happy, so as this world would seem an earthly paradise. But, Madam, if I write any more, I shall go near to make you a servant to your servant in a laborious reading her long letter, but it was your command in your last letter, that I should write you long letters, and I believe in this I have fully obeyed you, which is my desire to all your commands, to let you know that there is none more truly and faithfully

Your Ladyship's servant than I.

## ON HER EXTREME LOVE

MADAM,—In your last letter you chid me for loving too earnestly, saying, extreme love did consume my body and torment my mind, and that whosoever love to a high degree are fools; if so, I confess, Madam, I am as much a fool as ever Nature made, for where I

set my love, it is fixed like eternity, and is as full as infinite. My love is not fixed suddenly, for it takes experience and consideration to help to place it, both which have been my guides and directors to love you, which makes me love you much, and shall make me love you long, if souls die not, and so I shall alwayes, and in all occasions, be, Madam,

Your constant friend and humble servant.

## OF SEVERAL SORTS OF WIT

Madam,—Since I writ to you that letter of the first of the last month, I have several times conversed with Mrs. R. E. and I find her wit runs in parts, like as musick, where there must be several parties to play or sing several parts; she is not a whole concert her self, neither can she play the grounds of wit, but yet she can make a shift to fill up a note; and it is to be observed, that wit in several persons runs on several subjects, but few have general wits, as to play musically upon every subject, especially without making a fault; for I have known some, on some particular subjects, will be wonderful witty, and on others mere dunces and idiots. And for parts of wit, some have gossiping wit, as midwife and nurse wit, also wafer and hippocras wit, ale and cake wit, as in christning, churching, lying in, and other gossipings; others have bridal wit, gamesome wit, also gaming wit, tavern-wit, brothel-wit, and some have court-wit, which is a jeering scoffing wit; but all these are but scums or dregs of wit, onely scum-wit swims on the top, which soon boyls over, and dreg-wit lies at the bottom, and is hardly stirred without much motion to raise it up. Thus several sorts of wit run

about amongst mankind, and Mrs. E. R. S. wit is a platonick wit, as loving friendships, and the conversation of souls, but take her from the platonicks, and she is gone, both from wit and understanding, or those are gone from her; and so leaving her to her single-self, and her wit to her platonick-lover,

I rest, Madam,
Your faithful friend and servant.

## ON MEN'S COURTESY TO WOMEN

MADAM,—It requires experience, skill, and practice, for men, civilly, yet courtly, to entertain and accompany women in visiting, or the like; they must sit within a respectful distance, with their hats off, and begin a discourse, but let the women follow it, which they will do until they are out of breath; also, they must not interrupt them in their talk, but let them speak as much, or as long as they will, or rather can, for our will to talk is beyond our power. But though we want not words, yet we want understanding and knowledge to talk perpetually; neither must men contradict women, although they should talk nonsense, which oftentimes they do, but must seem to applaud and approve, with gentle nods and bows, all they say; also they must view their faces with admiring eyes, although they were ill-favoured, but those that are beautiful, their eyes must be fixed on them, or else seem to be dazled; likewise they must seem to start at their calls, and run with an affrighted hast, to obey their commands. Such, and many the like ceremonies and fooleries there are of this kind from men to women, but these are rather from strangers than domestick acquaintance. Wherefore

setting aside antick follies, yet a civil respect and regard is due to the female sex from the masculine, even from the greatest to the meanest; and so leaving men to their constrained civilities and feigned admirations,

I rest, Madam,
Your faithful friend and servant.

## ON HER RETURN FROM ABROAD

MADAM,—Now we be both returned into our native country, let us meet to rejoyce together, for though our husbands have lost much, yet the broken parts of their estates they have recovered by the just laws of this kingdom, will afford us some recreation, pastime, and harmless sports. As for the place of our meeting, if I may advise, it shall be N. whose owner is M. N. a person that hath lost the most of any subject, yet he is the best contented, and so the happiest, for he never troubles himself for any worldly wealth, especially when he cannot tell honestly which way to repair his estate; and though he be wisely prudent, yet he is not basely miserable, as to be miserably sparing, but will entertain us civilly, friendly, generously, pleasantly, delightfully. So expecting when you will appoint the time,

I rest, Madam,
Your faithful fr. and s.

## HYMEN'S SHOPS

MADAM,—I cannot wonder that Mrs. F. G. is so desirous of a husband, for I observe, that all unmarried women, both maids and widows, are the like,

insomuch that there are more customers that go to Hymen's markets, which are churches, playes, balls, masks, marriages, etc. than there are husbands to be sold, and all prices are bidden there, as beauty, birth, breeding, wit and virtue, though virtue is a coin whereof is not much; but husbands are so scarce, especially good ones, as they are at such great rates, that an indifferent price will not purchase any one. Wherefore those that will buy them, must be so rich as to be able to bestow an extraordinary price of beauty, birth, breeding, wit or virtue, and yet much ado to purchase any one, nay, some cannot be had without all those joyned into one; but Venus's markets, which are also publick meetings (for all markets are publick) are so well stored of all sorts and degrees of titles, professions, ages, and the like, as they are as cheap as stinking mackrel, and all coins are current there, but virtue, wherefore that is ever offered. 'Tis true, the markets of Venus and Hymen are in one and the same city or place, yet Hymen and Venus sell apart, like as several grasiers bring their beasts to one market or fair; I call them several markets, to make a distinction of which belongs to Hymen, and which to Venus; but for better distinction's sake, I will put them into shops apart, or into as many pews in one church, or compare them to several scenes in one mask, several acts in one play; for as many stalls or shops there are in one market, and several magistrates in one city, so many shops hath Hymen and Venus in one market; but the cheapest that are to be sold out of Hymen's shops, are young novices; and although there is much scarcity in Hymen's shops, yet the price of gold or such riches, if they be offered, buyes any man that is there to be sold, which are batchelours and wid-

dowers, for there's no married man in Hymen's shops, unless unknown that they were bought before, and once discovered, they are punished, for married men can neither be bought nor sold by Hymen or his customers, until they be widowers; but in Venus's shops there be as many, if not more, married men than batchelours or widowers. But both in Hymen's and Venus's shops there are of all sorts, better and worse, as mean persons and others of quality, handsom and not handsom, old and young, and of middle years; and as for women, few are sold in shops, for they are the buyers, and married women are the best customers Venus hath; and though married women go to the publick market, which are publick meetings, as fine as they can be drest, and to the publick view, out of pretence to meet there, and speak with such of their friends that are Hymen's customers, as also to help those friends to choose and bargain for a husband, or to keep them company, yet when they go to Venus's shops they go covered with their veils, or rather follies, for fear they should be known of their husbands that lye there to be sold; for though they go uncovered to Hymen's shops, as with their friends, to assist them, yet to Venus's shops they go alone. Thus married and unmarried take some occasion to be at the market, and thus there is more trade, traffick, and commerce, in this market than in any other; but such persons as will live single and chast, never come there, unless some few; and this sort of persons for the most part live in Diana's court, which are cloisters or monasteries; also some few married wives that live retired, do not frequent this market, but if they do, they never come into any of the shops, but stand in the midst of the market-place, that it may be known they buy nothing there;

but Madam, I will leave this discourse, for though I am one of Hymen's subjects, being a married wife, yet I am none of Venus's customers, but Madam,

Your faithful friend and servant.

## THE PLAGUE

MADAM,—I am sorry the plague is much in the city you are in, as I hear, and fear your stay will indanger your life, for the plague is so spreading and penetrating a disease, as it is a malignant contagion, and dilates it self throughout a city, nay, many times, from city to city, all over a kingdom, and enters into every particular house, and doth arrest almost every particular person with death, at least, layes grievous sores upon them; indeed great plagues are death's harvest, where he reaps down lives like ears of corn; wherefore, Madam, let me perswade you to remove, for certainly life is so pretious, as it ought not to be ventured, where there is no honour to be gained in the hazard; for death seems terrible, I am sure it doth to me. There is nothing I dread more than death, I do not mean the strokes of death, nor the pains, but the oblivion in death, I fear not death's dart so much as death's dungeon, for I could willingly part with my present life, to have it redoubled in after memory, and would willingly die in my self, so I might live in my friends. Such a life have I with you, and you with me, our persons being at a distance, we live to each other no otherwise than if we were dead, for absence is a present death, as memory is a future life; and so many friends as remember me, so many lives I have, indeed so many brains as remember me, so many lives I have, whether they be friends or foes,

onely in my friends' brains I am better entertained; and this is the reason I retire so much from the sight of the world, for the love of life and fear of death: for since nature hath made our bodily lives so short, that if we should live the full period, it were but like a flash of lightning, that continues not, and for the most part leaves black oblivion behind it; and since Nature rules the bodily life, and we cannot live alwayes, nor the bounds of Nature be inlarged, I am industrious to gain so much of Nature's favour, as to enable me to do some work, wherein I may leave my idea, or live in an idea, or my idea may live in many brains; for then I shall live as Nature lives amongst her creatures, which onely lives in her works, and is not otherwise known but by her works. We cannot say, she lives personally amongst her works, but spiritually within her works; and naturally I am so ambitious, as I am restless to live, as nature doth, in all ages, and in every brain; but though I cannot hope to do so, yet it shall be no neglect in me; and as I desire to live in every age, and in every brain, so I desire to live in every heart, especially in your Ladiship's, wherein I believe I do already, and wish I may live long. Wherefore for my own sake, as well as yours, let me intreat you to remove out of that plaguy city, for if you die, all those friends you leave, or think of, or remember, partly die with you, nay, some perchance for ever, if they were personally dead before, and onely live in your memory; wherefore, as you are a noble lady, have a care of your friends, and go out of that city as soon as you can, in which you will oblige all those you favour, or that love you, amongst which there is none more truly, faithfully, and fervently, your friend and servant, than,

Madam, I, M. N.

## THE SPIRITUAL SISTER

MADAM,—Yesterday Mrs. P. I. was to visit me, who prayed me to present her humble service to you, but since you saw her she is become an altered woman, as being a sanctified soul, a spiritual sister, she hath left curling her hair, black patches are become abominable to her, laced shoes and galoshoes are steps to pride, to go bare-necked she accounts worse than adultery; fans, ribbons, pendants, necklaces, and the like, are the temptations of Satan, and the signs of damnation; and she is not onely transformed in her dress, but her garb and speech, and all her discourse, insomuch as you would not know her if you saw her, unless you were informed who she was; she speaks of nothing but Heaven and purification, and after some discourse, she asked me what posture I thought was the best to be used in prayer? I said, I thought no posture was more becoming, nor did fit devotion better, than kneeling, for that posture did in a manner acknowledge from whence we came, and to what we shall return, for the Scripture says from earth we came, and to earth we shall return; then she spoke of prayers, for she is all for extemporary prayers, I told her, that the more words we used in prayer, the worse they were accepted, for I thought a silent adoration was better accepted of God than a self-conceited babbling; then she asked me if I thought one might not be refined, by tempering their passions and appetites, or by banishing the worst of them from the soul and body, to that degree, as to be a deity, or so divine as to be above the nature of man; I said no, for put the case that men could turn brass or iron, or such gross metals, into gold, and refine that gold unto its height of purity, yet it would

be but a metal still; so likewise the most refined man would be but human still, he would be still a man, and not a God; nay, take the best of godly men, such as have been refined by grace, prayer, and fasting, to a degree of saints, yet they were but human and men still, so long as the body and soul were joyned together, but when these were separated, what the soul would be, whether a God, a devil, a spirit, or nothing, I could not tell; with that she lifted up her eyes, and departed from me, believing I was one of the wicked and reprobate, not capable of a saving grace, so as I believe she will not come near me again, lest her purity should be defiled in my company, I believe the next news we shall hear of her, will be, that she is become a preaching sister; I know not what oratory the spirit will inspire her with, otherwise I believe she will make no eloquent sermons, but I think those of her calling do defie eloquence, for the more nonsense they deliver, the more they are admired by their godly fraternity. But leaving her to her self-denying, I return to acknowledge my self, Madam,

Your very faithful friend and servant.

## ON MODE-MINDS

Madam,—I have observed, there are amongst mankind as often mode phrases in speech as mode fashions in cloaths and behaviour, and so moded they are, as their discourse is as much deckt with those phrases as their cloaths with several coloured ribbands, or hats with feathers, or bodyes with affected motions, and whosoever doth discourse out of the mode, is as much despised, as if their cloaths

or behaviours were out of fashion, they are accounted fools or ill-bred persons; indeed most men and women in this age, in most nations in Europe, are nothing but mode, as mode-minds, mode-bodyes, mode-appetites, mode-behaviours, mode-cloaths, mode-pastimes or vices, mode-speeches and conversations, which is strange to have minds according to the mode, as to have a mode-judgment, for all will give their judgments and opinions according to the mode, and they love and hate according to the mode, they are couragious or cowardly according to the mode, approve or dislike according to the mode, nay, their wits are according to the mode, as to rallery, clinch, buffonly jest, and the like, for better wit is not usually the mode, as being alwayes out of fashion amongst mode-gallants, but true and good wit lives with the seniors of the time. Such as regard not the mode, but chuse or prefer what is best, and not what is most in fashion, unless that which is best be in fashion, which is very seldom if ever known for that which is best or good, is not general, especially wit, for the right, true and best wit keeps to particulars, as being understood by particulars; some modes have oftener wit in their mouths than in their brains, that is, they speak the wit of others, but have none of their own. But grave, experienced and wise men give their judgment or opinion, not according to the mode or fashion, but according to probability, sense and reason; neither do they say, such or such a thing will or shall be, or is so, why? because it is the general opinion, but they say, such or such a thing may be, or 'tis likely will be, or is so, why? because there is a probability or reason for it: neither do the just and wise hate or love, approve or dislike, because it is the mode, as to hate what is not generally loved, or love what is not

generally hated, or to despise what is generally disliked, or admire what is generally commended, but they hate what is really bad, wicked, or base, and not what is thought so: and love what is really good, vertuous and worthy, not for the general opinion, but for the truth, and they admire and commend, despise or scorn, dislike or disapprove that which is despisable or discommendable or scornable, and so the like; neither are they couragious or cowardly according to the mode, but they are valiant or cautious according to the cause or quarrel; they do not fight out of or in a bravado, but for honour, or in honour's quarrel; nor do they pass by injury or cover an anger or affront with a raillery or jest, but because the person that did the injury, or gave the affront, was either drunk, mad, or base, inferiour person, fitter for his man's quarrel than for his own; and for wise men, they speak not with mode-phrases, but such words as are most plain to be understood, and the best to deliver or declare sense and reason, and their behaviours are those which are most manly and least apish, fantastical or constrained; and their clothes are such as are most useful, easie and becoming; neither do their appetites relish mode-meats or sauces, because they have the mode *haut goust,* but they relish best what is most pleasing or savoury to their taste; and so for drinks compounded, as chocolata, limmonada, and the like, they will not drink them because of the mode; neither do they affect mode-songs or sounds, because they are in fashion to be sung or played, but because they are well-set tunes, or well-composed musick, or witty songs, and well sung by good voices, or well plaid on instruments; neither do not follow mode-vices or vanities for fashion, but for pleasure, or their own humour or fancy; nor do they use those

exercises that are in mode, but those they like best. Thus a wise man follows not the mode, but his own humour, for if it be the mode to play at tennis, or paille-maille, or the like, if he like better to ride or fence, he will let alone the mode-exercises and use his own; if it be the mode-pastime to play at cards or dice, if he like better to write or read, he will leave the mode-pastime and follow his own; and if it be the mode-custom to dine and sup, and meet at ordinaries or taverns, if he like better to sup and dine at home alone, he will not go to ordinaries or taverns; if it be the mode to make general courtships, if he like, or is better pleased with a particular mistress, he will not follow the mode; neither will he ride post because it is the mode but because his affairs require it; neither will he journey from place to place to no purpose, because it is the mode, but will wisely sit still or rest at his own home, because it is easie, peaceable, quiet, and prudent, as not so chargeable. But leaving the modists to their mode-clothes, oaths, phrases, courtships, behaviours, garbs and motions, to their mode-meats, drinks, pastimes, exercises, pleasures, vanities and vices; to their mode-songs, tunes, dances, fiddles and voices; to their mode-judgements, opinions and wits; to their mode-quarrels and friendships, to their mode-lying and dissembling,

I rest, Madam,
Your faithful friend and servant.

## PRAISE AND DISPRAISE

Madam,—I was reading to-day some several satyrs of several famous poets, wherein I find, that they praise themselves, and dispraise all others, which,

expresses a great self-dotage, and a very ill nature; besides, they seem more covetous than generous, to desire all the praise, and to give their neighbour not any; in truth, writers should never speak of themselves, but in praefatory epistles, or in a history of their own lives, wherein they may freely declare their own acts and opinions. But, Madam, I wish that all writers would use their pens as your noble Lord and husband orders his discourse in speech, to speak the best of all men, and to bury their faults in silence, which would make virtue an emulation, and faults such a novelty, as men would be ashamed to commit them. Whereas declaring former faults, causes precedent faults no strangers, nay, it causeth precedent faults to be more confident and active; but, Madam, you are so innocent and harmless, as you are not acquainted with the faults of others, for which I am, Madam,

Your must humble servant and faithful friend.

## A PREACHING SISTER

Madam,—Since I last writ to you, I have been to hear Mrs. P. N. preach, for now she is, as I did believe she would be, viz. a preaching sister. There were a great many holy sisters and holy brethren met together, where many took their turns to preach, for as they are for liberty of conscience, so they are for liberty of preaching, but there were more sermons than learning, and more words than reason, Mrs. P. N. began, but her sermon I do not well remember, and after she had sighed and winded out her devotion, a holy brother stood up and preached thus, as I shall briefly relate to you.

"Dearly beloved brethren and sisters, we are gathered together in the Lord with purity of spirit to preach his word amongst us. We are the chosen and elect children of the Lord who have glorified spirits and sanctified souls, we have the spirit of God in us, which inspires us to pray and to preach, as also to call upon his name and to remember him of his promise to unite and gather us together unto his New Jerusalem, separating us from reprobates, that we may not be defiled with their presence, for you, dear brethren, know by the spirit, that they are not the children of the Lord but Satan's children, they are the children of darkness, we the children of light, we are glorified and sanctified by supernatural grace, we are a peculiar people, and the holy prophets of the Lord, to fore-see, fore-tell, and declare his will and pleasure, also we are to incourage and comfort the saints in afflictions and times of tribulation and consolation, and to help them to present their sanctified sighs, tears and groans unto the Lord; but the spirit moveth me to pray and to leave off preaching, wherefore let us pray unto the Lord."

So after the holy brother had done his prayer, Mr. N. N. who was there, pulled off his peruick, and put on a night-cap, wherein he appeared so like a holy brother as they took him for one of their sect, and he preached this following sermon:

"Dearly beloved brethren, We are here met in a congregation together, some to teach, others to learn; but neither the teaching nor learning can be any other way but natural and according to human capacitie, for we cannot be cœlestial whilst we are terrestrial, neither can we be glorified whilst we are mortal and subject to death, nor yet can we arrive to the purity of saints or angels, whilst we are subject to natural

imperfections both in body and mind, but there are some men that believe they are, or at least may be so pure in spirit by saving grace, as to be sanctified, and to be so much filled with the Holy Ghost as to have spiritual visions, and ordinarily to have conversation with God, believing God to be a common companion to their idle imaginations. But this opinion proceeds from an extraordinary self-love, self-pride, and self-ambition, as to believe they are the only fit companions for God himself, and that not any of God's creatures are or were worthy to be favoured, but they, much less to be made God's privy counsel, as they believe they are, as to know his will and pleasure, his decrees and destinies, which indeed are not to be known, for the creator is too mighty for a creature to comprehend him, wherefore let us humbly pray to what we cannot conceive."

But before he had quite ended his sermon, the holy flock began to bustle, and at last went quite out of the room, so that he might have prayed by himself had not I and two or three ladies more that were of my company, stayed; and when he had done his short prayer, he told me and the other ladies, that he had done that which the great counsel of state could not do, for he had by one short discourse dispersed a company of sectaries without noise or disturbance. But at last we dispersed our selves to our own houses, although Mr. N. N. would have given us a ball after a sermon, but I was so tyred with the one, as I was not fit for the other, for we were from morning till evening to hear them preach, yet as tyred and weary as I am I could not chuse but repeat these two of their shortest sermons which I heard, and so I subscribe myself, Madam,

Your faithful friend and servant.

## ON THE GRANDEUR OF NOBLE PERSONS

MADAM,—The Lady G. R. and the Lady A. N. in a visiting meeting, fell into a discourse of great princes and noble persons, where the Lady G. R. said, that great princes and noble persons should or ought to have a grandeur in their behaviours, habits, discourses, attendance, life and renown, as to their persons, garments, speech, ceremony, actions and fame, according to their titles, births and fortunes. Nay, said the Lady A. N. not according to fortune, for misfortune or ill fortune knocks grandeur down, and makes it lye as dead, also age doth lessen it: the Lady G. R. said, that true grandeur did ride in triumph upon misfortune's back; for though ill fortune might degrade noble persons of wealth, and poverty degrade them of ceremony, yet the right grandeur of true noble persons would appear through raggs, and their low condition like as the sun, which though it could not shine cleer and bright through thick, black clouds, yet it made day in that hemisphere it moved in, for a dark day is not night. So, although ill fortune may darken the grandeur of noble persons, yet it cannot benight it; and as for age, said she, it is so far from lessening grandeur as it gives it addition for true noble and heroick persons, their very shadows do appear with a majestical grandeur, and their fame sounds with a solemn renown, both to beget respect, reverence, and honour in the eyes, ears and minds of all persons, in despite of fortune or time, for grandeur, said she, lives both in the ashes and fame of noble, worthy, and gallant persons. But leaving their discourse together with their visit,

I rest, Madam,
Your faithful servant and friend.

## ON PARAPHRASING THE SCRIPTURES

MADAM,—You were pleased to tell me in your last letter, that you had spent most of the morning in reading a new work, which is highly commended, viz. paraphrases on the life of some of the holy prophets and kings: I cannot say but it may be pleasing to read, but I doubt whether it will be well to write it; for whosoever doth heighten the sacred scriptures, by poetical expressions, doth translate it to the nature of a romance; for the ground of a romance is for the most part truth, but upon those truths are feignings built; and certainly the Scripture and feignings ought not to be mixed together, for so holy a truth ought not to be expressed fabulously; wherefore in my opinion no subject is so unfit for poetical fancies as the Scripture, for though poetry is divine, yet it ought not to obstruct and obscure the truth of sacred historical prose. 'Tis true, divine poetical raptures, such as David's psalms, are commendable and admirable, being an effect of a devout soul, and zealous spirit, which flames into poetical raptures, and is inspired with a divine influence, delivering it self through harmonious numbers, sympathetical rithmes, elegant phrases, and eloquent language; all which is presented to God from the heart, as an offering, or sacrifice of thanksgiving, or an imploring of mercy, or an humble acknowledgment of sins, and promise of amendment, which sacred poems are expressed in a tragic vein concerning sins, and in a comick vein concerning blessings, and poets in their morning hymns are like the larks that begin the day, and in their evening hymns like the nightingals which begin the night. Thus divine poets are Heaven's birds, that sing to

God, and their divine poems are their brood, which are kept in the cage of memory, and sing their parents' notes to after ages. But, Madam, perchance you will think I am peremptory, to give my opinion of the poet's work before I see it; but I give my opinion only upon the ground of his work, which is the Scripture, saying, it ought not to be paraphrased. Besides, I give it from my conscience, not from my conceited brain, and perchance I may alter my opinion, upon more rational arguments from those that are more learned and knowing than my self, and if your opinion differs from mine, pray send it me in your next letter; for I would willingly be of your opinion believing you cannot err, nor can I, in expressing my self, Madam,

Your very faithful friend and devoted servant.

## THE CONTAGION OF GOSSIPING

MADAM,—In your last letter you say, that the Lady G. P. carried a letter she received from Mrs. O. B. from company to company to jest at, because it was not indited after the courtly phrase but after the old manner and way, beginning thus, *After my hearty commendation, hoping you are in good health, as I am at the writing hereof; this is to let you understand, etc.* But I know not why any body should jest at it, for 'tis friendly to send commendations, and to wish them good health, and certainly friendly and kind expressions are to be preferred before courtly complements, the first sounds like real truth, the other may be demonstrated to be feigning, for all complements exceed the truth. 'Tis true, the style of letters alters and changes as the fashion of clothes doth, but

fashions are not alwayes changed for more commodious or becoming, but for the sake of variety, for an old fashion may be more useful and graceful than a modern fashion: but I believe the Lady G. P. carried Mrs. O. B.'s letter about with her for a pretence to visit company, like as gossips do cakes and other junkets to their neighbours, the junkets increasing the company, and the company the junkets, so the Lady G. P. out of a luxury to talk and company, like as other gossips, out of a luxury to talking and eating, carried the letter, to show her several acquaintance sport, to get other acquaintance, and if she had not had that letter, 'tis likely she would have found some other pretence rather than have stayed at home. Indeed, one may say, that in this age there is a malignant contagion of gossiping, for not onely one woman infects another, but the women infect the men, and then one man infects another, nay, it spreads so much, as it takes hold even on young children, so strong and infectious is this malignity. But if any will avoid it, they must every morning anount the soles of their feet with the oyl of slackness, and bath every limb in a bath of rest; then they must put into their ears some drops of quiet, to strengthen the brain against vapourous noise, and stop their ears with a little wool of deafness, to keep out the wind of idle discourse; also they must wash their eyes with the water of obscurity, lest the glaring light of vanity should weaken them, and they must take some electuary of contemplation, which is very soverain to comfort the spirits, and they must drink cooling julips of discretion, which are good against the fever of company, and if they take some jelly of restraint, they will find it to be an excellent remedy against this malignity. Onely they must take great care lest they be too relax to per-

suasion, but rather so restringent as to be obstinate from entering into a concourse; for there is nothing more dangerous in all malignant diseases, than throngs or crowds of people; and this is the best preparative against the plague of gossiping. But for fear with writing too long a letter I should fall into that disease, I take my leave, and rest, Madam,

Your very faithful friend and servant.

## ON THE LORD W. N.'S WIT

MADAM,—Here was the Lord W. N. to visit me, whose discourse, as you say, is like as a pair of billows to a spark of fire in a chimney, where are coals or wood, for as this spark would sooner go out than inkindle the fuel, if it were not blown, so his discourse doth set the hearers brain on a light flame, which heats the wit, and inlightens the understanding. The truth is, great wits might be thought, or seem fools, if they had not wit to discourse, but the greatest wits that are, or ever were, cannot discourse wittily, unless they either imagine or else have a real witty opposite to discourse wittily to; like as those that can skilfully fence, cannot fence, unless they have an opposite to fence with; or like as those that can skilfully play at tennis, cannot play, unless they have a skilful opposite; they may toss the ball, but not play a game. The same is in conversation and discourse; there is none can discourse well, wisely, or wittily, but with wise, and witty opposites, otherwise their discourse will be extravagant, and as it were, out of time or season: but the Lord W. N.'s wit is a well-seasoned wit, both for reason, time and company, to which I leave him, and rest, Madam,

Your faithful friend and servant.

## ON FASHIONS AND THEIR SEASONS

MADAM,—I should take it for a favour, if you would be pleased to send me that new-fashioned garment you mentioned in your last letter; not that I think to make use of the fashion, for I take more pleasure to devise a fashion than to follow it, but only to satisfie my curiosity. I would see it, whether it be a fashion for use, or ease, or becoming, or for grandeur; for fashions of use are for the several seasons of the year, as also for several actions, for those fashions that are proper for dancing, are not proper for riding; as for example, pumps are of no use a horseback, nor boots, nor spurs in a galliard, or courant, unless it were to tear the ladies gown the man dances withall, for he cannot well cut a caper in a pair of boots and spurs, nor a horseman spur a horse with a pair of pumps, but spurs would be as hawks' bells in dancing, especially if they were gingling spurs; yet men either riding a horseback, or dancing on a carpet might wear feathers in their hats, for the head is not imployed so much in those actions as the heels, only a feather is a fashion of no use, but merely for grace and becoming. Many other fashions I could repeat for use, and action, but it were too tedious. As for the fashions for the seasons of the year, in winter, sable skins, or meaner fur, to wear about the neck, and muffs, are both graceful and useful as to keep one from cold; and for summer, fans, to cool the sultry heat, and to shadow the face from the sun, who seems to be an enemy to beauty, and strives to burn it off, wherefore it may be thought envious; such, and many other several fashions there are, according to the several seasons of the year. Besides, there are fashions for ease, which

religious persons use, as only a loose garment, tied loosly about their wast, wherein is neither much curiosity in making, nor labour in dressing, nor pain in wearing, it is quickly put on, and as quickly pulled off, a garment fit for a solitary and studious life, wherein must be no incumbrances on the body, to obstruct, or hinder the contemplations of the mind; also there be fashions of grandeur, which are more for grace and becoming, than for ease, or use, as gowns with long trains, streight bodies, heavy imbroyderies and laces, jewels in the ears, and many the like, high-heeled shoes, boot-hoses, feathers, roses, hatbands, and many more, which are requisite for grace and becoming. Again, there are fashions to distinguish persons, as to know a priest, a lawyer, a mayor and his aldermen, a constable, and many other several professions and officers; and thus there should also be degrees to distinguish the nobles from the commons, but the commons have incroched so much upon the nobles' prerogative of fashions, as all fashions are common amongst them; also there are fashions for times of mirth, and fashions for times of mourning, for publick meeting and nuptials, as also for weeping funerals; but fashions of grandeur are fit only for courts, at masks, plays, balls, and triumphant shews; fashions of cavalry are proper for the field in time of war, as for commanders or generals; fashions of distinguishments are fit for cities, as for magistrates, officers, professions, trades, and the like; fashions of ease are fittest for cloisters, and a private country life; and fashions of use are fit for all sorts, degrees, professions or qualities; but fashions that are neither useful, easie, proper, becoming, nor graceful ought to be banished, if any such there be. But, Madam, I shall discourse so long of fashions, as I shall

forget your patience, and make you so angry as to fling this letter into the fire, and so burn all the garmental fashions in my letter, where if all fashions could be as easily consumed as my letter, you would leave the world of mankind naked, unless they would cloth themselves with beasts' skins, or fig-leaves, which would soon become a fashion too, if once worn: wherefore lest I should be stript of your favour, I will leave the repetition of fashions, and rest, Madam,

Your very faithful friend and servant.

## MY MISTRESS, TRUTH

Madam,—In your last letter you desired me to write some letters of complement, as also some panegyricks, but I must intreat you to excuse me, for my style in writing is too plain and simple for such courtly works; besides, give me leave to inform you, that I am a servant to truth and not to flattery; although confess, I rather lose than gain in my mistress's service, for she is poor and naked, and hath not those means to advance her servants as flattery hath, who gives plenty of words, and is prodigal of praise, and is clothed in a flourishing style, imbroydered with oratory. But my mistress, Truth, hath no need of such adornings, neither doth she give many words, and seldom any praise, so as her servants have not any thing to live on or by, but mere honesty which rather starves than feeds any creature; yet, howsoever, I being bred in her service from my youth, will never quit her till death takes me away; and if I can serve you by serving her, command me, and I shall honestly obey you, and so rest, Madam,

Your faithful fr. and s.

## THE LADY S. K. AND HER AILMENTS

MADAM,—The Lady S. K. presents her service to you; truly she is not well, although not so sick, as forced to keep her bed; I know not how to judge of her disease, for she is both lean and fat, like as the idol mentioned in the Holy Scripture, which was partly clay, partly stone, and partly metal, onely, as I remember, its feet and legs were made of clay, whereas her feet and legs are all bone, for they are so wasted, as they have no flesh on them; but her hips, body, and breast are so fleshy and fat, as one may think she had no bones, by reason none can be seen, or felt; and her arms, hands, neck, and face are so pale and lean, that they appear white as silver, and for want of blood and flesh, they are so dry, as they are so rough as unpolished stone; and with her sickness she is become so melancholy as she appears like a dead image, or senseless idol. But her real virtue, and noble soul, and honourable life, hath made her more worthy of human worship, than the signifying fore-mentioned idol, or image, his idolatrous, divine worship, and she is more worthy to be set up on an altar of fame, than such idols on an altar of religion, and to have praises, though not prayers, offered to her. Thus she may be worshipped as a goddess, without superstitious idolatry, and have virtuous devours; but yet she desires she may have the best doctor's advice for her health, wherefore she intreats you to send her the most renowned doctors of physick that are in your city, she will not spare cost, if they have skill, but pay them for their advice; for doctors sell their knowledge, and patients buy healths, and their knowledge is a staple-commodity, for the more

knowledge doctors of physick sell, the more knowledge they get for experience of diseases; and so all things come in more by practice than by study, and health gains more by temperance, exercise, and air, than by physick; and so adding my prayers to her temperance, the doctor's skill, and physick,

I rest, Madam,
Your faithful friend and servant.

## ON THE INFLUENCE OF THE PLANETS

Madam,—I am not of the opinion, that the planets have an influence or power on the fortunes, or any outward accidents of men, as that such shall be slaves, and such kings, such be rich, and such poor, such be killed in the wars, and such drowned, or killed with a stone falling on their heads; such be burnt, such hanged, and such escape those and the like dangers; such men and women shall love, and marry, and such not; also how many husbands such a woman shall have, and such a one shall have none, and so for men, mistresses, and wives, for advancement and disgraces, honours and dignities, offices and authorities, and for all manner of fortunes or accidents, I say, I believe the planets are not the causes of these outward effects. But as I believe the stars and planets have an influence upon the bodies of men, as their bodies have on the planets and elements, so they may have an influence upon the humours in the body, as upon phlegm, choler, melancholy, blood, and the like, and they may work effects either for health, sickness, pains, and sores, rheums, and the like. But I am in dispute with my self, whether they also have an influence, or work several

effects upon the minds of men, as upon their bodies; and when I consider the various inconstancies of men's minds, and the alterations and changes which are in men's minds, I think they are moved and altered according to the motions, and influences, and effects of each planet, or star. For if we do observe, not only their thoughts, passions, and affections vary and alter minutely, hourly, daily, weekly, monthly, and yearly, but also their capacities, conceptions, judgments, understandings, opinions, and wit; for most have deeper capacities, higher conceptions, sounder judgments, clearer understandings, probabler opinions, and quicker wits, at some, than at other times. As at some times they may be thought wisemen and at other times mere fools, sometimes they will speak very wittily, at other times mere nonsense, or at least, words without wit, sometimes they will be able to give as wise counsel as Nestor, Ulysses, or Achitophel, at other times, they are neither able to give, nor to take counsel; sometimes they conceive, and understand readily and clearly, whatsoever is conceivable and understandable by mankind, at other times they are as if they had not sense and reason; the like for the qualities, passions, affections, and virtues of the mind; as at some times they are very valiant, at other times mere cowards; sometimes nobly generous, other times basely covetous; sometimes uprightly just, other times wrongfully unjust; sometimes very compassionate, other times very cruel, or uncharitable; sometimes so angry, as to be so furious that none dare speak to them, at other times so patient, as to suffer any one to pull them by the nose; sometimes they love to death, and sometimes they hate to death, one and the same thing; and this is usual, and general amongst mankind, which makes

me lean to the opinion, that the stars and the planets have an influence upon the minds of men; but I am absolutely of the opinion, that they have no influence or power on the educations of mankind, no more than they have on the fortunes or accidents of and to mankind. For in those men that are educated thoroughly well, and wisely, the effects of education are too strong for the effects of the stars or planets, so that some men may be constantly prudent, just, valiant, generous, understanding, judicious, witty, and wise. Also the effects of education, and the effects of the planets, may be crossing, and opposing each other, and then the strongest effects bear away the victory, whether to good or ill; and this is the reason of long debates, doubts, and considerations, ere some men come to conclusions or resolutions; and truly, I think the senses have as great an influence upon the mind, as the stars and planets have, as fair objects, melodious sounds, sweet savours, and delicious touches, have as great an influence upon the mind, and cause as various and strong effects, as the stars and planets do, or can. But leaving the stars, planets, education, and the senses to their influences,

I rest, Madam,

Your faithful friend and servant.

## ON HER PLAYS

Madam,—I heard the ship was drowned, wherein the man was that had charge and care of my playes, to carry them into E. to be printed, I being then in A. which when I heard, I was extremely troubled, and if I had not had the original of them by me, truly I should have been much afflicted, and accounted the

loss of my twenty playes, as the loss of twenty lives, for in my mind I should have died twenty deaths, which would have been a great torment, or I should have been near the fate of those playes, and almost drowned in salt tears, as they in the salt sea; but they are destinated to live, and I hope, I in them, when my body is dead, and turned to dust. But I am so prudent, and careful of my poor labours, which are my writing works, as I alwayes keep the copies of them safely with me, until they are printed, and then I commit the originals to the fire, like parents which are willing to die, whereas they are sure of their children's lives, knowing when they are old, and past breeding, they are but useless in this world. But howsoever their paper bodies are consumed, like as the Roman Emperours in funeral flames, I cannot say, an eagle flies out of them, or that they turn into a blazing star, although they make a great blazing light when they burn; and so leaving them to your approbation or condemnation,

I rest, Madam,
Your faithful friend and servant.

## ON HER MUCH TALKING

Madam,—Th' other day Mr. H. U.'s. daughter and neece were here to visit me, and I endeavouring to entertain them kindly and friendly, talked so much, as they might easily believe, my tongue was in a perpetual motion; especially being strangers to me, not knowing my solitary, silent humour, who speak only much when I entertain strangers, which I do but seldom, so that my talking is like fits of a quartan ague, and as hard to be lured, for much talking is a

disease, or a natural defect, or rather effect in the female sex, and the defects and effects of nature may be obscured, but not altered, so that it is very improbable, if not impossible, for a woman to be silent; indeed it is against the nature of women, so that a silent woman would be as a monster in nature; but howsoever, my desire is rather to be a monster for silence, than a natural in talk; wherefore, lest I should commit a double fault, in overmuch writing of my overmuch talking, I take my leave of you, and rest, Madam,

Your faithful fr. and s.

## OLD YEARS AND A YOUNG FACE

MADAM,—You were pleased in your last letter to tell me, that you did see the Lady C. C. and that her face seems young, although she be old in years; but, Madam, youthful appearance is like green moss on aged trees, and not as the green of springing buds, or flourishing leaves; the truth is, some bodies are happy in being so healthful, and of so lasting a constitution. For like as the holly, ivy, bay, or laurel, last green all their time, not only in summer, but also in winter; so some men and women will appear young in the winter of their age, with a fresh, and lively colour, and so smooth, and free from wrinkles, as if time had no power on them; but there are not many bodies, or faces, that can boast they are too strong for time, and although they should be victorious over time for a time, yet time ruins them all at last. And so leaving the Lady C. C. to her old years, and young face,

I rest, Madam,

Your faithful friend and servant.

## ON HER HUSBAND'S EXTRAORDINARY VALOUR, WIT AND INVENTION

MADAM,—Remember, when we were very young maids, one day we were discoursing about lovers, and we did injoyn each other to confess who professed to love us, and whom we loved; and I confessed I only was in love with three dead men, which were dead long before my time, the one was Cæsar, for his valour, the second Ovid, for his wit, and the third was our countryman Shakespear, for his comical and tragical humour. But soon after we both married two worthy men, and I will leave you to your own husband, for you best know what he is; as for my husband, I know him to have the valour of Cæsar, the fancy, and wit of Ovid, and the tragical, especially comical art of Shakespear; in truth, he is as far beyond Shakespear for comical humour as Shakespear beyond an ordinary poet in that way; also he is the best heroick poet in this age, nay in my judgment, in any, for I have seen him make twenty songs upon one theme or subject, as musick, and not one song like another; and for comedies, he hits, or meets, or imitates the humours of men so justly, as he seems to go even with Nature. Indeed he is such a person, that I glory more to be his wife, than Livia to be Augustus's wife, or had I been Titus's wife, who was called the delight of mankind, although I never heard he had any; for in my opinion he is as wise a man as Augustus, and of as sweet a nature as Titus, all which is my happiness in any condition of worldly fortune, in which happiness I know you rejoyce, and this rejoyce proves us inseparable friends.

## A LETTER FROM ANTWERP

MADAM,—I am so full of fear, as I write this letter with great difficulty, for all this city hath been in an uproar, and all through a factious division betwixt the common council, and those they call the Lords, which are the higher magistrates. The common people gather together in multitudes, pretending for the right of their privileges, but it is thought the design is to plunder the merchants' houses, and the churches, by the last they seem to regard, and covet more the goods of the world than Heaven; indeed the world makes men apt to forget Heaven, as loving mammon more than God. The truth is, they have plundered one of the chief magistrates, and were hardly kept from plundering the bishop, which act expresses their covetousness, and divulges their designs; and this disorder causes the trumpets to sound, the drums to beat, the souldiers to arm, and the women to weep, and to make it the more fearful, the great bell, which is only rung in time of danger, either in cases of fire, or war, or mutinies, or the like, sounds dolefully, all which makes me tremble fearfully; and that which increases my fear the more is, that my maids being possessed with the like fear, come often to me with maskered faces, and tell me divers and different reports, some, that the army is coming to destroy the city, and others, that the souldiers have liberty to abuse all the women, others, that all in the city shall be put to the sword. The best report is, that all shall be plundered, but for this last, my husband and I am safe, for we are plunder-free, having had all our goods and estate taken from us in our own country, so that now we have no such goods or wealth as is worth the taking; the truth is, we are rather in a condition to

plunder, than to be plundered, so that if they will but spare our persons and lives, I fear not our goods, the only misery is, that we cannot well go out of this city, by reason we have here some credit to take up monies, or provisions, in time of necessity, for my husband hath lived here so long, as he can challenge the privilege of a burger, and therefore we may rise up with the tumult, and cry out mutinously for our rights and privileges. But for all this I am extremely afraid, insomuch that at every noise I hear, if I be not with my husband I run to find him out, so that I write this letter but by starts. Yet my husband endeavours to allay my fears, telling me, that the beating of drums, and blowing of trumpets, and arming of souldiers, is the way and means to quiet this mutiny, and to keep us in peace and safety; but for all that, I hear my husband say, that it is a scurvy business, and a dangerous example. Howsoever, I leave all to his prudence and care; for I believe, if he did perceive any great danger, he would remove me out of the city, but then he must go with me, for I will not part from him, regarding not my safety when he is in danger, and I had rather die with him than live after him. But, Madam, hoping the next letter to you will be more comfortable, and that all will be as quiet and peaceable as it was, I rest, Madam,

Your faithful friend and servant.

## ON HER HOUSEWIFERY

Madam,—My thoughts, although not my actions, have been so busily imployed about huswifry these three or four dayes, as I could think of nothing else, for I hearing my neighbours should say, my waiting-

maids were spoiled with idleness, having nothing to do, but to dress, curl, and adorn themselves, and they excusing themselves, laying the blame upon me, that I did not set them to any imployment, but whereas they were ready to obey my commands, I was so slow in commanding them, as I seldom took any notice of them, or spoke to them, and that the truth was, they oftener heard of their lady, than heard, or saw her themselves, I living so studious a life, as they did not see me above once a week, nay, many times, not once in a fortnight; wherefore, upon the relation of these complaints, I sent for the governess of my house, and bid her give order to have flax and wheels bought, for I, with my maids, would sit and spin. The governess hearing me say so, smiled, I asked her the reason, she said, she smiled to think what uneven threads I would spin, for, said she, though Nature hath made you a spinster in poetry, yet education hath not made you a spinster in huswifry, and you will spoil more flax, than get cloth by your spinning, as being an art that requires practice to learn it; beside, said she, the noise the wheels make with turning round will be offensive to your hearing. I was very much troubled to hear what she said, for I thought spinning had been easie, as not requiring much skill to draw, and twist a thread, nay, so easie I thought it was, as I did imagine I should have spun so small, and even a thread, as to make pure fine linnen cloth, also, that my maids and I should make so much, as I should not have needed to buy any, either for household linnen, or shifts. Then I bid her leave me, to consider of some other work; and when I was by my self alone, I called into my mind several sorts of wrought works, most of which, though I had will, yet I had no skill to work, for which I did inwardly

complain of my education, that my mother did not force me to learn to work with a needle, though she found me alwayes unapt thereto; at last I pitched upon making of silk flowers, for I did remember, when I was a girl, I saw my sisters make silk flowers, and I had made some, although ill-favouredly; wherefore I sent for the governess of my house again, and told her, that I would have her buy several coloured silks, for I was resolved to imploy my time in making silk-flowers. She told me, she would obey my commands; but, said she, Madam, neither you, nor any that serves you, can do them so well, as those who make it their trade, neither can you make them so cheap, as they will sell them out of their shops, wherefore you had better buy those toyes, if you desire them, for it will be an unprofitable employment, to wast time, with a double expence of mony. Then I told her I would preserve, for it was summer time, and the fruit fresh, and ripe upon the trees; she asked me for whom I would preserve, for I seldom did eat sweet-meats my self, nor make banquets for strangers, unless I meant to feed my houshold servants with them; besides, said she, you may keep half a score servants with the mony that is laid out in sugar and coals, which go to the preserving only of a few sweet-meats, that are good for nothing but to breed obstructions, and rot the teeth. All which when I heard, I conceived she spoke reason; at last I considered, that I and my maids had better be idle, than to employ time unprofitably, and to spend mony idely; and after I had missed some time, I told her, how I heard my neighbours condemned me, for letting my servants be idle without employment, and that my maids said it was my fault, for they were willing to be employed in huswifry; she said, my

neighbours would find fault, where no fault was, and my maids would complain more if they were kept to work, than when they had liberty to play. Besides, said she, none can want employment, as long as there are books to be read, and they will never inrich your fortunes by their working, nor their own, unless they make a trade of working, and then perchance they might get a poor living, but not grow rich by what they can do; whereas by reading they will inrich their understandings, and increase their knowledges, and quicken their wit, all which may make their life happy, in being content with any fortune that not in their power to better, or in that, as to manage a plentiful fortune wisely, or to indure a low fortune patiently; and therefore they cannot employ their time better, than to read, nor your Ladiship better than to write, for any other course of life would be as unpleasing, and unnatural to you, as writing is delightful to you; besides, you are naturally addicted to busie your time with pen, ink, and paper. But, said I, not with wit, for if Nature had given me as much wit to write, as fortune hath given me leisure, my writing might have been for some use, but now my time and paper is unprofitably wasted in writing, as my time and flax would be in spinning, but since I am fit for no other employment but to scratch paper, leave me to that employment, and let my attending maids have books to read. Thus, Madam, for a time did I trouble my mind, and busie my thoughts to no purpose, but was forced to return to my writing-work again, not knowing what else to do, and if I had been as long absent from My Lord as Penelope was from her husband Ulysses, I could have never employed my time as she did; for her work only employed her hands, and eyes, her ears were left

open to love's pleadings, and her tongue was at liberty to give her suters answers, whereas my work employes all the faculties and powers of my soul, mind, and spirits, as well as my eyes and hands; and my thoughts are so busie in my brain, as they neither regard, nor take notice what enters through the ears. Indeed those passages are so stopped up, or barred close, whereas had Penelope's ears been so barred, her lover's petitions, sutes, and pleadings, would have been kept without doors, like a company of beggars; they might have knocked, but not entered, nor any of the mind's family would have asked them what they desired; neither would the tongue, the mind's almner, have given them one word of answer; and then it was likely her amorous lovers would have gone away, and not stayed to feed upon her cost and charge, as they did. But, Madam, give me leave to beg your pardon for writing so long a letter, though it is your desire I should, I will tire you no longer, but subscribe my self, Madam,

Your faithful friend and servant.

## ON SHAKESPEAR'S PLAYS

MADAM,—I wonder how that person you mention in your letter, could either have the conscience, or confidence to dispraise Shakespear's playes, as to say they were made up onely with clowns, fools, watchmen, and the like; but to answer that person, though Shakespear's wit will answer for himself, I say, that it seems by his judging, or censuring, he understands not playes, or wit; for to express properly, rightly, usually, and naturally, a clown's, or fool's humour, expressions, phrases, garbs, manners,

actions, words, and course of life, is as witty, wise, judicious, ingenious, and observing, as to write and express the expressions, phrases, garbs, manners, actions, words and course of life, of kings and princes; and to express naturally, to the life, a mean country wench, as a great lady, a courtesan, as a chast woman, a mad man, as a man in his right reason and senses, a drunkard, as a sober man, a knave, as an honest man, and so a clown, as a well-bred man, and a fool, as a wise man; nay, it expresses and declares a greater wit, to express, and deliver to posterity the extravagancies of madness, the subtilty of knaves, the ignorance of clowns, and the simplicity of naturals, or the craft of feigned fools, than to express regularities, plain honesty, courtly garbs, or sensible discourses, for 'tis harder to express nonsense than sense, and ordinary conversations, than that which is unusual; and 'tis harder, and requires more wit to express a jester, than a grave statesman; yet Shakespear did not want wit, to express to the life all sorts of persons, of what quality, profession, degree, breeding, or birth soever; nor did he want wit to express the divers, and different humours, or natures, or several passions in mankind; and so well he hath expressed in his playes all sorts of persons, as one would think he had been transformed into every one of those persons he hath described; and as sometimes one would think he was really himself the clown or jester he feigns, so one would think, he was also the king, and privy counsellor; also as one would think he were really the coward he feigns, so one would think he were the most valiant and experienced souldier; who would not think he had been such a man as his Sir John Falstaff? and who would not think he had been Harry the Fifth? and

certainly Julius Cæsar, Augustus Cæsar, and Antonius, did never really act their parts better, if so well, as he hath described them, and I believe that Antonius and Brutus did not speak better to the people, than he hath feigned them; nay, one would think that he had been metamorphosed from a man to a woman, for who could describe Cleopatra better than he hath done, and many other females of his own creating, as Nan Page, Mrs. Page, Mrs. Ford, the doctor's maid, Bettrice, Mrs. Quickly, Doll Tearsheet, and others, too many to relate? and in his tragick vein, he presents passions so naturally, and misfortunes so probably, as he peirces the souls of his readers with such a true sense and feeling thereof, that it forces tears through their eyes, and almost perswades them they are really actors, or at least present at those tragedies. Who would not swear he had been a noble lover, that could woo so well? and there is not any person he hath described in his book, but his readers might think they were well acquainted with them; indeed Shakespear had a clear judgment, a quick wit, a spreading fancy, a subtil observation, a deep apprehension, and a most eloquent elocution; truly, he was a natural orator, as well as a natural poet, and he was not an orator to speak well only on some subjects, as lawyers, who can make eloquent orations at the bar, and plead subtilly and wittily in law cases, or divines, that can preach eloquent sermons, or dispute subtilly and wittily in theology, but take them from that, and put them to other subjects, and they will be to seek; but Shakespear's wit and eloquence was general, for, and upon all subjects, he rather wanted subjects for his wit and eloquence to work on, for which he was forced to take some of his plots out of history, where he only

took the bare designs, the wit and language being all his own; and so much he had above others, that those who writ after him, were forced to borrow of him, or rather to steal from him; I could mention divers places, that others of our famous poets have borrowed, or stolen, but lest I should discover the persons, I will not mention the places, or parts, but leave it to those that read his playes, and others, to find them out. I should not have needed to write this to you, for his works would have declared the same truth: but I believe, those that dispraised his playes, dispraised them more out of envy, than simplicity or ignorance, for those that could read his playes, could not be so foolish to condemn them, only the excellency of them caused an envy to them. By this we may perceive, envy doth not leave a man in the grave, it follows him after death, unless a man be buried in oblivion, but if he leave anything to be remembered, envy and malice will be still throwing aspersion upon it, or striving to pull it down by detraction. But leaving Shakespear's works to their own defence, and his detractors to their envy, and you to your better imployments, than reading my letter,

I rest, Madam,
Your faithful friend and humble servant.

## ON HER SINGING

Sweet Madam Eleonora Duarti,—The last week your sister Katherine and your sister Frances were to visit me, and so well pleased I was with their neighbourly, and friendly visit, as their good company put me into a frolick humour, and for a pastime I sung to them some pieces of old ballads; whereupon they

desired me to sing one of the songs My Lord made, your brother set, and you were pleased to sing. I told them first, I could not sing any of those songs; but if I could, I prayed them to pardon me, for neither my voice, nor my skill, was not proper, nor fit for them, and neither having skill nor voice, if I should offer to sing any of them, I should so much disadvantage My Lord's poetical wit, and your brother's musical composition, as the fancy would be obscured in the one, and the art in the other; nay, instead of musick, I should make discord, and instead of wit, sing nonsense, knowing not how to humour the words, nor relish the notes. Whereas your harmonious voice gives their works both grace and pleasure, and invites and draws the soul from all other parts of the body, with all the loving and amorous passions, to sit in the hollow cavern of the ear, as in a vaulted room, wherein it listens with delight, and is ravished with admiration; wherefore their works and your voice are only fit for the notice of souls, and not to be sung to dull, unlistening ears. Whereas my voice and those songs, would be as disagreeing as your voice and old ballads, for the vulgar and plainer a voice is, the better it is for an old ballad; for a sweet voice, with quavers, and trilloes, and the like, would be as improper for an old ballad, as golden laces on a thrum suit of cloth, diamond buckles on clouted or cobbled shoes, or a feather on a monk's hood. Neither should old ballads be sung so much in a tune as in a tone, which tone is betwixt speaking and singing; for the sound is more than plain speaking, and less than clear singing, and the rumming or humming of a wheel should be the musick to that tone, for the humming is the noise the wheel makes in the turning round, which is not like the musick of the spheres. And ballads are only proper

to be sung by spinsters, and that only in cold winter nights, when a company of good huswifes are drawing a thread of flax; but as these draw threads of flax, so time draws their thread of life, as their web makes them smocks, so time's web makes them death's shirts, to which, as to death, afterwards those good huswifes are married, and lie in the bed of earth, their house being the grave, and their dwelling in the region of oblivion; and this is the fate of poor spinsters and ballad-singers. Whereas such a singer as you, such a composer as your brother, such a poet as My Lord, are clothed with renown, marry fame, and live in eternity, wherein death hath no power, time no limit, and destinies shears are useless. But though I am willing to sing an old ballad, yet not to dwell in oblivion; for I love your company so well, as I would live in eternity with you, and would be clothed as you, with renown, for no fashioned garments please me so well, and though the stuff or substance is not the same with yours, the substances being as different as the several qualities, faculties, proprieties, virtues, or sweet graces and the like; yet I will have as good as I can get. I will search Nature's ware-house, or shop, and though I cannot have a piece or measure of silver sound, or broccaded art, yet certainly I hope to get a piece or measure of three-poiled philosophy, or flowered fancy, for though My Lord hath taken many several pieces or packs out of Nature's shop, and hath inhaunced the prices, yet he must not ingross this last commodity to himself. 'Tis true, he hath ingrossed two commodities, as weapons, and riding, out of art's shop, the hand-maid of Nature, yet sure he will be never able to ingross all the several kinds and divers sorts of wares that Nature and art yet have in their store-houses. But I perceive that you three, as My

Lord, you, and your brother, do traffick so much with Nature and art, as I shall be but as a pedlar; howbeit, it is better to have some dealings than none at all and I will rather trade with toyes, than starve for want of a living, and in order to make my self capable, I have bound my self prentice to My Lord, and am willing to serve out my time, but My Lord is so generous, as to give me my freedom, and I must also desire you to give me at present so much freedom, as to subscribe myself, Madam,

Your very faithful friend and servant.

## ON VISITORS AND VISITED

MADAM,—As it was formerly the fashion, or custom of those that received visits, if they were weary of their visitors, to look in their watches, or to gape, or to yawn; so now it is to have alwayes, or for the most part, pen, ink, and paper lying upon the table in their chamber, for an excuse they are writing letters; as for the first, it is rude, and the last for the most part is false. Wherefore methinks it would be an honester and nobler custom to speak the truth, as to say, they desire not to be visited, at such times as they would not have company, or from such persons as they care not for; or to tell them truly, that they cannot entertain them, having some occasions which require their attendance or imployment, or that they are not well, and company would be troublesome to them. But to receive their visits, and then not entertain them handsomly, civilly, courteously, but dissemblingly, carelessly or disrespectfully, is neither fit for persons of quality to do to any company, if they will think them worthy to receive a visit of them; neither fit

for persons of quality to suffer from any person. But the visited and visitors do not alwayes know how to behave themselves, for noble births may have mean breeding, for some are nobly born and meanly bred, and some are humbly born and nobly bred, and some are nobly born and nobly bred, but those are few, and some are neither well born nor well bred, and those are many; but very few are bred so exactly, as to know punctually how to behave themselves to every particular person, and in every several company, much less in every action of their life, which are almost innumerous, and as different. Wherefore those are most to be commended, that can go through the course of their life with fewest errours; a busie nature is apt to commit most, and they that meddle least in the affairs of the world, and are most sparing of speech, commit fewest. 'Tis true, every living man commits some, but those are happy that can reckon their errours, that they are not past account. But if I write my letter longer, I shall add one errour more to those many that are past, although I am sure you will pardon those wherewith I have offended you, as believing they were not willingly, but ignorantly committed by, Madam,

Your faithful friend and servant.

## ON FEATHERS, MUFFS AND SWORDS

MADAM,—I shall not trouble you now to buy the round of feathers that came out of France, for I have one made here in this town both cheaper and better than those were; but I have sent as many several messages, or letters, concerning the cap and feathers,

as I have heard a lady did to her husband, being in the chief city, and she in the country, who sent to him to buy her a hat and feather, the next week she sent to buy her a hat, but not a feather, the third week, to buy her a feather but not a hat, the fourth week she would have neither hat nor feather. But I have bought a cap, and many feathers, not only that they are in fashion, but for use, for the hanging, or falling feathers shadow my face from the burning sun, and fan a gentle air on my face, that cools the sultry heat, so that were it not a general fashion, it should be my particular fashion in summer time. Indeed, feathers, in my opinion, become women better than men, for women are more of the nature of birds than beasts, not only for their hopping and dancing, which resembles flying, but because they are more useless creatures, for most birds are of no use but to sing, and some to prate, they are neither useful for labour nor war, as most beasts are; 'tis true, vulturs, ravens, crows, and such like birds, will be at the end of a battel, but 'tis only to feed on the dead carcasses slain in the battel, like those that feed on the slanders of their sex; also feathers are light, not for shining, but in weight, and so women have light natures; feathers are unsteady and restless, so are women both in body and mind; indeed feathers and muffs are not so seemly for men as for women, for how can a man guide his horse, or use his sword, when his hands are in a muff? Yet it was all the fashion the last winter for men to wear muffs, tied to a long string about their necks, the muffs hanging at the lower end of the string, and when they had an occasion to lay by their muffs, they flung them behind their backs, which seems like as poor, beggarly souldiers' knapsacks, or as tinkers budgets, and the string about their neck

seems like as if they were going to be hanged for stealing some bread and cheese, or for robbing an apple-orchard, or for stealing ragged linnen off the hedges, or some such petty, or worthless things. But men are as inconstant in their fashions as women, if not more, so as it is to be hoped they will change to a more manly fashion than muffs, and a more handsome fashion than boot-hose tied up to their short breeches, which boot-hose about the knees appear like wens, and swelled sores ready to be lanced, to let out the corruption that is gathered therein. Truly, to me it would appear more seemly for women to wear swords, than men to wear muffs, for women, though weak, and unskilful to handle and use a sword, yet had they courage, they might make a shift to assist an assaulted friend, or to protect their honour against violation, whereas a muff doth as it were tie up a man's hands, and is a hinderance either to assault or defend. But women have no occasion to wear swords, for they are protected by the civil laws of all nations; besides, all noble gentlemen are guards to the female sex, and for the assistance of friends, there be few that are assaulted in their own houses; and women are not suffered to fight in the war; neither are they chosen for seconds, nor is it fit they should be in drunken quarrels; and as for thieves, it is an old saying, thieves are too strong for true men, for thieves will seldom assault one, under two or three. Not but that women ought to do their endeavour to assist a friend in distress, though they were sure to do them no good; but their striving to help must do them no hurt, by hindering them to help themselves; as for example, some women that see an enemy assault their husbands, sons, father or brother, or are by when they quarrel with any other man,

will in a fright take hold of their friend, thinking to pull them from hurt, whereas that holding may be the cause of their being killed, as not being suffered to defend themselves. Thus may their loving fear be the cause of their death; but I have wandered too far, from feathers and women, to swords and death; wherefore leaving all to fates and fashions,

I rest, Madam,
Your faithful friend and servant.

## A TRUE RELATION OF HER COLD CONDITION

Madam,—Give me leave to tell you, that I write this letter with no small difficulty, for though I sit so near the fire, as I have burned a part of my clothes, yet the cold is so furious, as it doth not only freez the ink in the standish, but in the pen I am writing with; so that I am but a cold writer. Nay the very thoughts seem to be frozen in my brain, for they move very slowly, as if they were stupified, only my love to your Ladiship keeps warm in my heart; indeed, your love doth help to maintain the fire of life. I know not how cold it is at the poles, for I never was there in person, but in my imagination yet, it cannot be colder there, than it is here at this present time; for my part, I could almost think, that this cold hath travelled from the poles hither. But this thought of mine would be contradicted through two reasons, the one, that cold moves slowly; although to bring reason against reason, it seems probable that cold is very quick, for it catches every mankind by the fingers, and by the noses, as soon as it comes near them, even as soon as burning fire would do, and much sooner; the other reason is, that cold in the long journy would get itself a heat, and so wast by the way. But leaving these reasons,

though the senses know not from what places, or parts, cold comes, or what it causes, yet they know that we have here at this time cold with all its potent strength, as an army of flakes of snow, with ammunition of hail for bullets, and wind for powder; also huge ships of ice, which float in the main sea, and stop up all the narrow rivers; also cold and its army shooting forth the peircing darts, which fly so thick and fast, and are so sharp, as they enter into every pore of the flesh of all animal creatures. Whereby many animals are wounded with numbness, and die insensibly; although mankind bring what strength they can get against cold, as an army of furs, where every hair stands out like a squadron of pikes, to resist cold's assault; and ammunition of coals serves for bullets, and ashes for powder, with great loggs for cannons, billets for muskets and carbines, brush faggots for pistols, where the bellows as fire-locks, make them fly up in a flame; also great pieces of beef for ships for men of war, with cabbage for sails, sawsages for tacklings, carrots for guns, and marrow-bones for masts, ballasted with pepper, and pitched or tarred with mustard, the card and needle being brewis and neats' tongues, the steers-men cooks, besides many pinnaces of pork, mutton, and veal, and flying boats, which are turkies, capons, geese, and the like, all which swim in a large sea of wine, beer, and ale. Yet for all this we are beaten into the chimney-corner, and there we sit shaking and trembling like a company of cowards, that dare not stir from their shelter; and many in the sea-fight have been drowned, from whence some have been taken up dead-drunk, then carried and buried in a feather-bed, where, after a long sleep, they may have a resurrection; but how they will be judged at that time they

rise, whether damned with censure, or saved by excuse, I cannot tell. Thus, Madam, I though it was the part of a friend to give you a true relation of our cold condition, but in all conditions or extremities I shall alwayes be, Madam,

Your faithful friend and humble servant.

## A WINTER CITY

MADAM,—If you were here in this city, now all the ground of the streets is covered with snow, you would see the young men and their mistresses ride in sleds by torch-light, the women and the men dressed antickly, as also their horses that draw their sleds; and then every sled having a fair lady, at least to her lover's thinking, sitting at one end of the sled, dressed with feathers and rich clothes, and her courting servant like a coachman, or rather a carter, bravely accoutred, driving the horses with a whip, which draw the sled upon the snow with a galloping pace, whilst footmen run with torches to light them. But many of these lovers, not using to drive horses so often as court mistresses, for want of skill overturn the sled, and so tumble down their mistresses in the snow, whereupon they being in a frighted hast, take them up from that cold bed, and then the mistress appears like a pale ghost, or dead body in a winding sheet, being all covered with white snow; and the sled, when the mistress is seated again, instead of a triumphant chair, seems like a virgin's funeral herse, carried, and buried by torch-light; and her feathers seem like a silver crown, that usually is laid thereon, also the sled is drawn then in a slow, funeral pace, for fear of a second fall. By this custom and practice you may know, we have here recreations for every season of

the year, and as the old saying is, that pride in winter is never cold, so it may here be said, that love in winter is never cold; indeed, I have heard say, that love is hot, and to my apprehension it must be a very hot amorous love that is not cold this weather. But leaving the hot lovers in the cold snow, I rest, by the fire-side, Madam,

Your very faithful friend and servant.

## ON THE SLIDING OF HER THOUGHTS IN HER BRAIN

Madam,—Although I am as unwilling to stir from the fire-side this cold weather, as criminals are to go to their execution (for indeed the sharp cold is to me as a sharp ax, and the peircing motions like points of swords), yet my husband's perswasion, which is as powerful on me, as the powerfullest authority of states to particular persons, forced me out of the city, as without the walls, to see men slide upon the frozen moat, or river, which runs, or rather stands about the city walls, as a trench and security thereof; and I being warm inclosed in a mantle, and easily seated in my coach, began to take some pleasure to see them slide upon the ice, insomuch as I wished I could, and might slide, as they did. But yet I would slide as one of the skilfullest, and most practiced, and with a security the ice was so firm as not to break; but since I neither had the agility, art, courage, nor liberty, I returned home very well pleased with the sight, and being alone to my self, I found I had a river, lake, or moat frozen in my brain, into a smooth, glassy ice, whereupon divers of my thoughts were sliding; of which, some slid fearfully, others as if they had been drunk, having much ado to keep on their

incorporeal legs, and some slid quite off their feet, and fell on the cold hard ice; whereof some sliding upon imaginary shoes, with the imagination full were tossed up into the air of my brain; yet most of my thoughts slid with a good grace and agility, as with a swift and flying motion. But after I had sat by the fireside some time, the imaginary ice began to melt, and my thoughts prudently retired, or removed, for fear of drowning in the imaginary river in my brain. And so leaving this imagination, I profess my self really, Madam,

Your faithful friend and servant.

## A LETTER TO HER SISTER PYE[1]

(*"Of my four sisters, the third married Sir Edmund Pye"*)

DEAR SISTER PYE,—Distance of place, nor length of time, cannot lessen my natural, or rather supernatural affection to you; for certainly my love for you is more than a sister's love, nay, such a love, as when I lived with you, it could not choose but be somewhat troublesome, by reason my love was accompanied with such fears, as it would neither let you rest, pray, nor eat in quiet. For though it was a watchful love, yet it was a fearful love, for I remember I have oftentimes waked you out of your sleep, when you did sleep quietly, with soft breathing, fearing you had been dead; and oftener have I laid my face over your mouth, to feel if you breathed, insomuch as I have kept my self waking, to watch your sleeps, and as troublesome I was to you concerning your feeding, as I was in your sleeping, for I was afraid that that which was to nourish you, should kill you.

[1] See p. 192 of her Memoirs.

And I remember, I was so doubtful of every meat you did eat, as you were used to tell me, I was Sancapancha's doctor; neither could I let you pray in quiet, for I have often knocked at your closet door, when I thought you were longer at your prayers than usual, or at least, I did think the time longer; so as I could not forbear to ask you how you did, and whether you were well, and many the like impertinences which my extraordinary love troubled you with; of which trouble you are now quit, living so far asunder. But though I am too far off to watch, yet I pray for your health and long life, and though I thought it was impossible I could love any creature better than you, yet I find by experience, I do, for since I am married, I love my husband a degree above you; yet howsoever; my several affections are like God and nature, both infinite, and if love lives in the soul, and the soul never dies, my several affections may be eternal. But you may say, if my love was so troublesome to you, what is it to my husband? I must tell you, I have some more discretion now than I had then, and though extraordinary love will hardly allow, or admit discretion, yet reason doth perswade love, and brings many arguments not to be impertinently troublesom. But though I do not ask my husband so many impertinent questions as I did you, yet my love for him is not less watchful, careful, and fearful, but rather more, if more can be; and all the powers and endeavours of my life are ready to serve him and you. Only he must be served first, which I am confident you will take no exception at, but approve of; for you are a wife, and know what the love to a husband is. And so leaving you to your beloved husband, I rest,

Your most affectionate sister.

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